

سكزا من الامرين

The Global Newspaper Edited and Published in Paris Printed simultaneously in Paris, London, Zurich, Hong Kong, Singapore, The Hague, Marseille, New York, Rome, Tokyo, Frankfurt.

HERALD INTERNATIONAL TRIBUNE

Published With The New York Times and The Washington Post

No. 34,058 35/92

PARIS, FRIDAY, AUGUST 28, 1992

ESTABLISHED 1887

Police in Germany Brace for Further Neo-Nazi Attacks

By Ferdinand Protzman
EBERSWALDE, Germany — German police officials said Thursday that they were bracing for more violence in Rostock after five consecutive nights of rioting and amid fear that rightist attacks against foreigners will spread to other Eastern German cities.



A squadron of Tornado fighter-bombers of the Royal Air Force, preparing to take off Thursday from an air base near London on a flight to the Mideast.

U.S. Planes Unchallenged As Flight Ban Starts in Iraq

Baghdad Radio Says Saddam Won't Reply To 'Aggression' Now
By John H. Cushman Jr.
ABOARD U.S.S. INDEPENDENCE in the Gulf — Warplanes from the aircraft carrier Independence asserted allied control over the skies of southern Iraq on Thursday, encountering no resistance from Saddam Hussein's forces.

Serbs Agree to Give Up Some Land, Major Says

Major said as the conference ended, "All of them are fraught with pitfalls. All of them require the involvement and pressure of the international community."
He said the conference participants, including European Community countries, the United States, Russia and others, had been motivated by a "clear sense of anger at what is happening in Yugoslavia."

Truce Is Backed in the Caucasus

MOSCOW (Reuters) — Armenia and Azerbaijan agreed Thursday to a cease-fire beginning Sept. 1 in the latest attempt to end four years of fighting in the Caucasus, Russian news agencies said.

Scandal Topples Japan's Political Kingmaker

By T. R. Reid
TOKYO — The ever-widening net of Japanese political scandal snared a major victim Thursday as Shin Kanemaru, the most powerful figure in the dominant party, quit his party posts after admitting that he had accepted \$4 million in questionable contributions from a mob-related businessman.



Shin Kanemaru announcing his resignation to the Tokyo press Thursday.

Storm Victims: Miami's Finest

By Felicity Barringer
CORAL GABLES, Florida — As a hurricane howled around her, Kathy Sours, a sergeant with the Coral Gables Police Department, lifted the dining room wall that had fallen onto her husband, Randy, dragged him into the bathroom, prayed, and wondered how their two young children, away on vacation, would live without them.



President Bush on a trip Thursday to New Iberia, Louisiana, where he surveyed hurricane damage and promised federal aid. With him is Governor Edwin W. Edwards. An initial \$78 million is being provided for relief and rebuilding in the state.

Why Baby Johnny Can Add

By Daniel Goleman
NEW YORK — Babies as young as 5 months, still in the cradle, have a rudimentary ability to add and subtract, according to a study published Thursday.

Pentagon Gives Go-Ahead for Somalia Airlift

By Jane Perlez
MOMBASSA, Kenya — After 10 days of negotiations, the Pentagon and the International Committee of the Red Cross said Thursday that they had agreed to work together on an airlift of food to Somalia.

سكرا من الاملا

CAMPAIGN '92 / A TRUCE OF SORTS

Republicans, Fearing a Backlash, Soften Tone on 'Values'

ELECTION NOTES

What Perot Really Meant to Say Was...

SACRAMENTO — Ross Perot will be listed as a presidential candidate on the California ballot despite his announcement that he would not officially join the race. A spokeswoman for the California secretary of state said Mr. Perot fulfilled state requirements for getting on the ballot by submitting a signed statement that he was "a candidate" in the Nov. 3 election. The document was accepted "at face value" even though Mr. Perot declared on July 16 that he would not pursue the presidency, the spokeswoman said.

The Texas billionaire disappointed his supporters nationwide when he announced he would not declare as a candidate, saying that a newly revitalized Democratic Party precluded any chances of his winning the White House.

Jack Brodbeck, a former spokesman for the Perot California campaign, said that the Texas was seeking to get on the ballot in all 50 states so that he could "jump back in at any time" into the presidential race. (LAT)

Quayle Works on His Liberal 'Caricature'

WASHINGTON — Dan Quayle, son of an Indiana newspaper publisher, says he is a victim of the press. His wife, Marilyn, says she has "learned not to believe what you read in the papers." Interviewed on ABC's "Prime Time Live" program, the vice president said he was treated badly by the press, partly because of "some mistakes" he has made, but mostly because his "conservative outlook is a very tempting target for a media that has a liberal bias."

He said, "The media have an investment in keeping that caricature of me out there. They painted this caricature, and when the American people see the real Dan Quayle, they, the media, will be proven wrong, and they can't stand it." (IHT)

U.S. Warns on Wilder Aide's Eavesdropper

RICHMOND, Virginia — Federal authorities are "treating as a serious matter" the discovery of an eavesdropping device in the office of Governor L. Douglas Wilder's chief of staff, U.S. Attorney Richard Cullen said today. "Federal law may have been violated" by the person who placed an electronic transmitter beneath the desk of J.T. Shropshire, Mr. Wilder's senior aide.

Planting the bug, which was discovered last week, is potentially a much more serious crime than the interception of a conversation on Mr. Wilder's cellular car phone that already has resulted in four misdemeanor convictions. The bugging of Mr. Shropshire's office could be a felony, punishable by up to five years in prison and a \$250,000 fine, Mr. Cullen said. Federal prosecutors emphasized that there was no reason to believe that the two incidents were related. (WFP)

Quote-Unquote

Michael K. Deaver, Republican consultant: "The message has to be about the economy. We've got real day-to-day life and death problems that are facing people every morning. You try to lecture them about family values and they're going to say, 'Don't tell me about God. Tell me about how I'm going to eat. Tell me about how I'm going to pay the rent.'" (NYT)

By E. J. Dionne Jr.

WASHINGTON — Republicans have de-escalated the cultural war they declared at the Republican National Convention, with leading conservatives warning President George Bush's campaign that attacks on cultural and moral themes could be politically damaging unless they are more carefully honed.

Mr. Bush himself softened his tone at a news conference, praising his Democratic opponent, Governor Bill Clinton, for supporting a resolution in Arkansas against flag burning and declaring, "I don't think one side is more patriotic than the other."

Earlier, at a breakfast meeting with reporters, a senior Bush strategist, Charles Black, said Wednesday that the campaign would discourage attacks on Hillary Clinton, the Democratic nominee's wife who was a target at last week's convention in Houston. Mr. Black predicted that the Bush campaign would focus primarily on economic issues.

Although both the president and Mr. Black said the campaign would continue to speak of "family values," the change in approach reflected a reassessment among senior Republicans over the long-term political impact of the fiercely conservative rhetoric on social and moral issues that was sounded in Houston.

Aides to Mr. Clinton say their own polling and focus group results suggest that while the convention may have helped Mr. Bush in rallying the Republican base, the emphasis on conservative themes may have alienated swing voters and limited the rise in public support that Mr. Bush initially appeared to have received during the convention.

Even Republicans who believe that culturally conservative themes should be a key part of the campaign maintain that in talking about family values, Mr. Bush needs to emphasize policy goals,



Barbara Bush reacting to applause and cheers as she campaigned for the Republican ticket at a low-cost housing project in Los Angeles.

such as making it easier for parents to send their children to private schools if they wish, rather than simply attacking the Democrats.

Notable among those who have that view is former Secretary of Education William J. Bennett, who says that the Republicans should not exaggerate their differences with Mr. Clinton on values issues. "We shouldn't go at this thing as if it were the forces of light against the forces of darkness; it's a debate, forgive me, within the family," Mr. Bennett said this week. "Where lines are to be drawn, draw them. Be clear, be unambiguous, but don't be spiteful."

Bennett added, "Let's say what they are. But if there are differences not of kind but of degree, let's say that."

Nonetheless, Mr. Bennett added that there were legitimate policy differences between the left and the right that should be debated, notably on what the public schools should teach about sexuality, including homosexuality; whether public schools should distribute condoms; the proper role of religion in public life; and whether the U.S. government should finance art that many Americans view as obscene.

William Kristol, Vice President Dan Quayle's chief of staff, has

also stressed the need to link discussion of values with discussion of policy.

"There are a whole bunch of public policy areas where government can make the choice of supporting or strengthening the family," Mr. Kristol said. "There are major cultural differences in the country and public policies, implicitly or explicitly, do express a set of values."

For this reason, Mr. Kristol said that Mr. Quayle would continue to emphasize family values and a critique of Hollywood's "adversary culture."

Mr. Black and other Bush supporters assert that the emphasis at the convention on family values

for economic growth and the case for the conservative reform agenda. Otherwise, it can appear to be a political wedge issue, dividing the electorate. And if it does become that, voters will be turned off, because they don't like to see a serious issue like family values used cynically.

Mr. Black and other Bush supporters assert that the emphasis at the convention on family values

and religion helped shore up Mr. Bush's support among traditional conservative constituencies, notably evangelical Christians, especially in the south.

The Clinton camp concedes this, but says that by emphasizing the hard-edged side of moral conservatism — including attacks on homosexuality, alternative lifestyles and radical feminism — the Republicans risk alienating large chunks of the electorate in what Samuel Popkin, a Clinton strategist, called "the ambivalent middle."

"These are people who have really learned to come to grips with the social changes of the last 25 years and don't want to refight a battle between the extremes of the 1970s," said Mr. Popkin, a political scientist on leave from the University of California at San Diego.

He added: "The McGovern Democrats have grown up, had families and have learned to deal with the trade-offs. The Republicans are painting everything in absolutes — they sound like the reverse image of '60s young people. They have to back off."

Polls suggest that the cultural and moral issues raised by the Republicans are of significantly less interest to voters than other issues — notably the economy.

A CBS News-New York Times Poll published this week found that more than 90 percent of voters said they wanted to hear the presidential candidates discuss how they would improve the economy and a similar percentage wanted them to discuss how they would improve the health system.

By contrast, just 23 percent wanted to hear how the candidates felt about legal rights for homosexuals, and 49 percent wanted to hear how they would uphold traditional family values.

Away From the Hustings

● Walker L. Ralley, a former Dallas minister, changing his position a day after a Dallas County grand jury indicted him on a charge of attempted murder, agreed not to fight extradition from California to Texas to stand trial for the nearly fatal strangling of his wife in 1987.

● William H. Gates 3d, the multimillionaire founder and chairman of the Microsoft Corp., gave Stanford University \$6 million to build a computer sciences building.

● Deadly gas produced by decaying vegetation, buried under sand years ago in the New Jersey resort of Sea Isle City, was released by a construction crew, killing a policeman, leaving another in serious condition and sending a total of 38 people, including 5 workers and more than a score of nearby residents, to a nearby hospital.

● Judge Roosevelt Dora, a black judge, was removed from the case of three black men accused of beating a white trucker at the start of the Los Angeles riots because he has "severe difficulty with a good many people who appear in his court," the county's chief prosecutor said. He told a news conference that Judge Dora was not being removed because of race.

● The distribution of condoms in public schools, an idea that would have been unthinkable a decade ago, now is strongly favored, according to a new Gallup Poll.

● The 35-year-old man who received the world's first baboon liver in a transplant operation two months ago is fighting a fever, a hospital spokesman said in Pittsburgh.

● Investigators said an arsonist was probably to blame for a blaze that ravaged 65,000 acres (26,300 hectares) and left hundreds of people homeless near Redding, California, as crews brought the nearly week-old blaze under control.

Reuters, AP, UPI, NYT

Clinton Says Bush Cares Only for Rich

San Antonio, Texas — Bill Clinton criticized President George Bush's proposed tax cut on Thursday, accusing him of being concerned only with protecting the incomes of the rich.

In St. Louis, Mr. Clinton said Mr. Clinton was trying to exploit "fear of foreigners" by backing a tax on foreign investment and waiving an expanded trade with Mexico.

"He hemmed and hawed and at last he said, 'When I have a definitive opinion, I'll say so,'" Mr. Bush said of Mr. Clinton's stand on the Mexican free-trade pact. "I hope nobody's planning to hold their breath."

Mr. Bush was using a trip to two Midwest battleground states, Missouri and Ohio, to pound on the need for expanded trade with Mexico and other countries.

Speaking at a campaign rally in Texas, Mr. Clinton said, "You've got to have somebody who cares about all the people."

"This administration's sole obsession is keeping taxes low on the wealthiest Americans," he said. "They really believe that's all you have to do to grow the economy."

Al Gore, the Democratic vice-presidential nominee, took a shot at both the tax plan and Mr. Bush's suggestion that he was the candidate voters could trust.

"This was the same ticket over there that said read my lips, and then they have the audacity to say this election is about you can trust them," the Tennessee senator said.

"Somebody who says read my lips on taxes and then raises taxes on average working families in this country ought to have second thoughts about putting that question to the American people," he said.

Governor Ann Richards of Texas, appearing with the candidates at a rally, compared Mr. Bush's tax plan to a hunter with a turkey call. "As soon as that turkey gets confused and excited, he walks right in front of you and you blow his head off," said Mrs. Richards. "We're not going to walk in front of his gun anymore."

Mr. Clinton and Mr. Gore picked San Antonio to kick off the fourth bus tour of their campaign.

Mr. Bush, after touring a police siren factory in St. Louis that exports one-third of its production, said Mr. Clinton was invoking protectionist policies, including advocating a tax on foreign investment in the United States, to tap into American fears.

"Governor Clinton hopes to exploit the darker impulses of this uncertain age, fear of the future, fear of the unknown, fear of foreigners," Mr. Bush said.

"I know his reputation for opportunism," Mr. Bush said. He is "the kind of guy who will do anything or say anything for political gain."

"He should understand what's at stake," Mr. Bush said. "These are American jobs he's playing games with."

"I guess as a candidate you can be on both sides of every question," Mr. Bush said. "As president, you can't."

Mr. Bush said the race was a choice between "the patrons of the past and architects of the future."

Though Mr. Clinton supports the concept of free trade with Mexico, he has not taken a stand on the new North American Free Trade Agreement, saying he first wants to ensure it meets wage and environmental standards.

Mr. Clinton's communications director, George Stephanopoulos, said the president's remarks were "one more example of President Bush trying to use scare tactics to deceive the American people."

"He knows Bill Clinton is for free trade," Mr. Stephanopoulos said. "He knows his own policies have cost American workers their jobs."

STORM: Officially a Helper, but Personally a Victim

(Continued from page 1)

him — she spends her working hours attending politely to the complaints of those who weathered the storm far more easily than she.

"We're working 12 to 16 hours a day," said Ed Hudak, a narcotics detective. "We can only be victims when we're off duty."



Residents of the Cutler Ridge area of Dade County, Florida, returning to their ruined condominium.

In the middle of the storm, another officer, David Henghold, was crouching in a closet with his wife, 16-year-old son, 21-year-old daughter and her boyfriend when there was a knock on the window.

"The little 16-year-old girl next door, her mother was hysterical," Mr. Henghold said. "She wanted

help, I couldn't believe she went out in it, but I went and got her mother, and they stayed with us."

When he goes back to work, Mr. Henghold said, he turns his thoughts to the people of Coral Gables whom he is sworn to protect. He tries not to forget that their burdens feel heavy, their problems veering.

"But if they could come down here and see what happened to us," he went on, "they might feel differently. We might not get the same calls, like 'There's flashlights in the backyard' or 'When will they pick up our tree?'"

Cutler Ridge, Kendall and many of the other neighborhoods torn to pieces by the hurricane are home to many police officers, postal workers and other public employees.

Estimates of the newly homeless in Dade County, including those who have moved in with friends and relatives, have soared well above 100,000 people.

So the 235 or so who happen to be police officers are a tiny minority. But unlike many other victims of the disaster, most officers continue to report to work, taking care of other people's lives as well as their own.

The trauma of crouching in bathtubs or closets, prepared to die, has left its mark on some officers, straining the professional detachment that is their trademark.

They leave houses without roofs or walls to take others' complaints about loss of electricity and the lack of garbage collection.

Bob Becker reported for work at the Coral Gables Police Department after the terrifying night of the hurricane and two nights half-sleeping on a chair in his driveway, a flashlight and pistol in his hands.

"I'm a police officer," he said. "I've been shot at. I've fought with people. You have to be macho for this job. You have to be macho in front of kids because you can't let them know you're scared. But... His voice broke, and he turned his head away, muttering an apology.

When he saw Kathy Williams approaching, he flung his arms around her, and both of them cried.

Governor Tries to Untangle Snarls In Florida Hurricane Relief Efforts

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

MIAMI — Governor Lawton Chiles complained Thursday of disorganization in the relief effort in Florida as workers struggled to provide food, clean water and shelter to hundreds of thousands of victims of the most costly hurricane in U.S. history.

Kate Hale, director of the Dade County Office of Emergency Management, said the county was struggling to cope. "We are alone in this process, and here it is Thursday," she told a meeting of the Dade County Commission.

"President Bush was down here," she said. "I would like him to follow up on the commitments that he made. I would like everybody to follow up on the commitments that they made. For God's sake, will you please cut it out and help us out down here?"

In Louisiana, which the storm struck after passing over southern Florida and the Gulf of Mexico, disruption from flooding, downed trees and wrecked buildings prevented officials from making a full assessment of the devastation.

"When you see the damage, it is amazing that so few people were hurt in this," said Governor Edwin W. Edwards of Louisiana. In all, 20 people were confirmed dead, 15 of them in Florida, 4 in the Bahamas and 1 in Louisiana.

Property damage in Florida alone could reach \$20 billion, according to Dade County officials, making the storm the most expensive natural disaster in the United States.

In the immediate aftermath of the hurricane, designated Andrew, Floridians were calm and, for the most part, patient.

"The first day, people were pretty stoic," said Dick Anderson, manager of Florida City, about 30 miles (50 kilometers) south of Miami. "They were just happy to be alive."

"Now," he said, "people are increasingly worrying about where their next meal is coming from, how they are going to feed the kids,

where can they find Pampers, those kinds of things."

Efforts to get food and water to the hardest-hit areas were hampered by blocked roads and downed power lines.

Gary Roberts, a relief organizer working in the devastated Cutler Ridge neighborhood, said, "We almost had a riot here when I gave a box of powdered milk to this lady and her kids." Nearly 2,000 people rushed to Mr. Roberts's station when it opened.

"We've got 120,000 C-ration meals that are here somewhere," Governor Chiles said, "but we don't know where the hell they are."

"Right now, a truckload of food gets there, 200 people show up, 50 people get food and 150 people are angry," he said. "We've got to find a way to solve that."

State officials planned to open a second emergency command center near Miami International Airport, to operate separately from the Dade County Emergency Operations Center, which has been coordinating relief efforts.

In Cutler Ridge, a throng of people five rows deep, their arms outstretched, pushed to the rear of a truck filled with produce.

"This is the first time we've really eaten since the hurricane," said Yolanda Garcia, eating beef and lima beans later with her three young children. "If it wasn't for this, they'd still be eating cookies and tuna fish."

More than a million Dade County residents remained without power Thursday, four days after the hurricane swept through the region, leaving 250,000 people homeless. Officials warned that it could be weeks before everyone got water and power back.

Officials feared that rotting food, polluted water and sewage backups could lead to outbreaks of hepatitis and dysentery.

Some 3,000 National Guard troops were patrolling the hardest-hit communities to keep order.

The police said 388 people had been arrested on looting and cur-

few charges throughout Dade County, including at least 100 looting arrests in hard-hit Homestead, about 30 miles south of Miami. A dusk-to-dawn curfew remained in effect. (AP, Reuters)

Test for U.S. Agency

The hurricane poses a daunting test for the Federal Emergency Management Agency, the agency that coordinates federal disaster relief programs. The New York Times reported from Washington.

The agency was criticized three years ago for its response to another hurricane and to an earthquake in Northern California.

Acknowledging that the agency had been overwhelmed by the back-to-back disasters in 1989, officials outlined a broad effort to ship in food, electrical generators, medical teams and hundreds of relief workers to Florida and Louisiana.

How effective these efforts will be is subject to question. The biggest problems after the 1989 hurricane, designated Hugo, was not the immediate job of providing emergency help but, rather, the task of processing federal loans and grants for rebuilding that are available to homeowners, farmers and businesses.

In a development that may complicate this effort, White House officials confirmed Wednesday that the agency's deputy director, Jerry Jennings, was being transferred to a different job within the administration.

Grant C. Peterson, associate administrator of the emergency agency, said it had allocated \$57 million in "seed money" for Florida and \$77 million for Louisiana to get relief operations under way. At the moment, he said, the agency has \$400 million available to spend on delivering food, temporary housing and emergency services, and President George Bush has authority to spend another \$145 million.

But those amounts are almost certain to be dwarfed by the magnitude of the disaster.

Inventing the French Riviera



The French Riviera, with its dazzling beaches, luxury villas and high-stakes gambling, has been the world's favorite playground for more than one hundred years.

In "Côte d'Azur," IHT columnist Mary Blume shows how this coast came to represent fantasy and escape — a dream of pleasure that found its place and moment and, finally, disillusion.

From Monte Carlo to Saint-Tropez, from the days of Belle Epoque palaces to modern high-rise developments, the author describes the Riviera with affection and wit in a sophisticated and highly literate social history of the place and the many people who have lived there.

Published by Thames and Hudson, London and available through the International Herald Tribune. Hardcover, 208 pages with 89 illustrations.

Herald Tribune
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Empty Words for Bosnia

The U.S. government's policy toward the dismemberment of Bosnia stands exposed as a sham, thanks to a courageous Foreign Service officer so disgusted that he has resigned in protest. Penetrating the diplomatic pieties that often bedevil public understanding, George Kenney calls the peace parley this week in London "a charade" that will fail unless military muscle is employed against Serbia.

Mr. Kenney is in a position to know. For the past seven months he has served as deputy chief of the Yugoslav desk in the State Department, most recently as acting chief. Resignations in principle are rare; this one sends a reverberating message. America, the West and all civilized societies have to give up their windy flailing and put real pressure on Serbia's strongman, Slobodan Milosevic, to stop his aggression.

There is no mystery about the steps that are sensible to attempt. The military options remain the same as two weeks ago, indeed two months ago. Trying them may not succeed, but if they are not tried the West will assure Serbia's murderous success.

Mr. Kenney contrasted the war of words being waged in Washington with the aggression that is killing Bosnians by the thousands. Acting Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger, he said, "feels we should wait until they exhaust themselves and then move in." But by then Bosnia would no longer exist.

Washington's do-nothing policy extends also to concentration camps. True, says Mr. Kenney, the State Department was not able to confirm reports of genocide in such camps—but it did not try very hard. Had it done so, the United States and the United Nations would have been obliged under the Genocide Convention to intervene.

Now the do-nothing policy shadows the London peace conference. The conference, Mr. Kenney correctly concludes, is doomed without "very strong pressures, including military pressures, against Serbia to stop its campaign of genocide in Bosnia."

The United States and Europe have a number of military options short of limitless land war. They can lift the arms embargo on Bosnia. They can use air power to silence the Serbs' big guns that still pound Sarajevo and other cities, and to attack military installations, arms-making plants and air bases in Serbia. A measured use of ground troops is also plausible: to convey food and medicine, to break up concentration camps, and to provide safe havens for returning refugees.

At long last, the United States and Europe are speaking forcefully, insisting that Serbian aggression not be rewarded, that Bosnia remain intact, and that only an international presence can protect all its people. But, unlike Mr. Kenney's act of principle, these are still just empty words.

—THE NEW YORK TIMES.

Back to the Task in Iraq

The irony of President George Bush's latest turn of the screw in Iraq is acute. It unquestionably has a domestic political quotient, and most people will think so anyway. But it also has a foreign policy quotient that may get lost in the political shuffle. Given Mr. Bush's lagging re-election campaign and the central role in it that fate has assigned to Saddam Hussein, there seems no good way for the president to escape this squeeze.

As foreign policy, the decision to join coalition allies in driving the Iraqi air force out of southern Iraq has a realistic rationale. It is not simply, as Mr. Bush said, that Saddam Hussein has been tightening repression of the Shiite insurgency in violation of the United Nations cease-fire. Serbian repression of Bosnia is hardly less, because of differing circumstances, evokes no similar response. Setting up a "no-fly zone" also serves an American strategy of encouraging both the democratic opposition and an undemocratic but potentially anti-Saddam regime opposition. One or the other of these prospects is what has held the zone to Arab governments otherwise leery

of condoning Western intervention, playing into the hands of Shiite Iran and creating a precedent of separation on religious lines.

It is hard to establish, but even harder to believe, that politics played no part in the Bush decision. But that need not mean that the president is determined at all costs to force a campaign-reviving showdown with Saddam Hussein or that he has lost control and cannot avert one. The politics works two ways. The same condition of presidential weakness that kindles suspicions about Mr. Bush's new step could conceivably restrain him from escalating lest he be accused of acting to ensure his November re-election.

The terrain is cluttered, but about one matter there must be absolute clarity. The United States cannot move from putting up an air umbrella over the Shites, to inviting Shites to rise up, to abandoning them to ground assault by Saddam Hussein. Something like this was allowed to happen a year ago with both Shites and Kurds. This is not sentimentalism. It is moral duty. A no-fly zone is a good idea if it is put into effect with responsibility and care.

—THE WASHINGTON POST.

The Crisis in Germany

In case anyone was starting to think that German unification was past its most difficult stage, the ghastly outbreak of racial violence in Rostock should cancel the illusion. Four days of rioting and attacks on foreigners waiting for political asylum, followed by the burning of their shelter and battles with 1,000 police who spirited 200 Vietnamese and Romanian Gypsy refugees to safety, suggest that there is continuing and apparently deepening anger, frustration and fear about the future among Germans on both sides of the former East-West divide. Nor is the violence confined anymore to the so-called skinheads or "anti-social" youth gangs who maximize their effect by marching with neo-Nazi insignia and slogans. More shocking to observers this time was the sight of Rostock residents, many old enough to remember World War II, cheering the thugs and shouting "Germany for the Germans!"

How much of this violence and anger actually has to do with refugee policy—as the Bonn government keeps insisting, even while it also denounces the violence and racism in the strongest terms? Chancellor Helmut Kohl and members of the Social Democratic opposition are considering changing the liberal asylum law; they say it lets in more refugees than the economy can stand. It is true that the influx of Third World, mostly Muslim immigrants into Germany and other European countries has created social and cultural tensions.

Germany's are further exacerbated by the combination of an unlimited right of

asylum from political persecution (written into the West German constitution as atonement for what happened to those who could not flee the Nazis) and the absence of any other legal immigration category for any but ethnic Germans, who get immediate citizenship. In Eastern Germany there is yet more friction because of the absence of functional courts to prosecute offenders and because of the government practice of farming out groups of refugees to different communities while their applications for asylum are being processed. Because the refugees are housed in government dormitories and barred from working, they are an easy target for resentment.

And just the deadly escalation in Rostock, a former shipbuilding port now largely deprived of its livelihood, would seem to have more to do with rising German stress than with rising refugee pressure. Rostock had roughly the same number of refugees a year ago, but nationwide figures on neo-Nazi membership have grown from 32,000 to 39,000 in that time, and attacks on foreigners from 270 to 1,483. Neo-Nazi gangs from Berlin and elsewhere were reported to have jammed radio bands in Rostock and attacked and trashed a local newspaper office after it reported on the clashes.

This is no policy debate over asylum, but a brewing crisis. In Germany as in Europe generally, the problem is less the presence of foreigners than the presence of anxiety and hatred, and the absence of a clear sense that people will be punished for acting on it.

—THE WASHINGTON POST.

Other Comment

Washington and Beijing

Once again, Washington is on an economic warpath with China, this time with a hit list of Chinese exports worth \$4 billion which might face punitive tariffs—unless derailed trade talks are back on track by Oct. 10. Washington is playing a dangerous game of brinkmanship; China is no third-rate banana republic that can be caught by the scarf of the neck to do its bidding.

The American approach is a tragic mistake because China is poised at a critical juncture. It can either let a hundred factories bloom or it can return to the mindless collectivism that ruined at least two generations. Protagonists of both sides are vying for support in the tantalizing last days of the Deng era. America can either create a sound future for China and the Asia-Pacific by working together with the reformists, or

it can continue its ham-fisted approach in bilateral relations with Beijing and run the risk of pushing China back into that same oppressive, unfortunate past.

—Business Times (Singapore).

Rostock Is a Symptom

The outbreaks of violence against Third World asylum-seekers in Rostock cannot be explained away as a fortuitous combination of unfortunate circumstances. The assault by right-wing hoodlums on a shelter for asylum applicants has revealed a whole range of socioeconomic problems. The processes that have led up to the incidents are a problem for Germany as a whole, and establishment politicians would be ill-advised to continue passing the buck in an inevitably futile attempt to avoid the consequences on election day.

—New Zürcher Zeitung (Zurich).

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International Herald Tribune, 181 Avenue Charles-de-Gaulle, 92521 Neuilly-sur-Seine, France. Tel.: (1) 46.37.93.00. Telex: Advertising, 613995; Circulation, 612852; Editorial, 612718; Production, 630698.

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The Choice on Bosnia: Principle or Appeasement

By Leslie H. Gelb

NEW YORK — The "peace" conference in London has had the earmarks of deadly force. Western leaders made tough noises about standing up for principle—the principle of not legitimizing Serbian conquests in Bosnia—and prepare to set up a long-term negotiating process. Meanwhile they know that their efforts will not work, or work in time, to stop Bosnian Muslims from being slaughtered or driven into refugee camps.

Western leaders' game at the conference has been to evade the real and alarming choice: either

Western leaders have not been without means to influence events in the Balkans. They have chosen to ignore and deny those means.

do what they can militarily and economically to back up their principles and save lives that way; or accept Serbian demands for partitioning Bosnia along ethnic lines, strike the best bargain they can, and save lives that way.

Bush officials diplomatically pretend otherwise. George Bush and Acting Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger insist that they will not reward Serbian aggression and will settle for nothing less than restoration of the rights and territory of Bosnian Muslims. Yet they know that nothing they are doing, or plan to do, will bring this about.

George Kenney, the Yugoslavia desk officer in the State Department, declared as much on Tues-

day when he resigned from the Foreign Service. Western Europe's policy is no less cynical than Washington's. European leaders say they are beginning a new chapter in the Yugoslav peace process, one that will take several months to show results. Yet they understand full well that there will be little left of the Muslims in Bosnia several months hence. Winter arrives early in the Balkans, as Europeans are well aware. Soon it will entomb the hundreds of thousands of ill-clad and unsheltered Muslims.

This real policy choice of which I speak is deeply troubling to me. It is doubly disturbing because I and others have argued for months for Western leaders to take steps that had a decent chance of avoiding the present trap. All in vain.

Western leaders answered with the worst sort of cynicism and duplicity. As public disgust over Serbian horrors mounted, they tried to quiet the uproar by flying in food for the Sarajevo victims (although doing nothing for the countless others in remote parts of Bosnia). Even as they fed the dying, they secretly seemed to hope that the Muslims would give up quickly so the whole mess would go away.

Then the Western leaders tried to sell the phonyest of arguments. They maintained that there were only two choices: massive ground force deployments and thus a Vietnam-like quagmire, or what they were already doing, i.e., feeding victims.

In fact there were and are lots of options short of sending ground troops. (Ironically, it was the United States that toyed briefly and idiotically with the idea

of sending 100,000 troops to protect relief convoys, and verged on sliding into another quagmire.)

Months ago, Western leaders could have put United Nations monitors on the Greek and Romanian sides of their borders with Serbia. This would have sharply reduced trade with Serbia and made UN sanctions far more effective.

Months ago, they could have begun proceedings to charge Serbian and Croatian leaders with war crimes and launched nonstop negotiations to apply constant world pressure.

Only in recent days and weeks have they acknowledged and just begun to act on these options. There is still more they can do, short of land war, to force the Serbs to think again. They can threaten air attacks against military targets in Serbia, like airfields and bridges to Bosnia. They can threaten to arm the virtually defenseless Muslims (and Albanians in Kosovo, if necessary) to discourage Serbia from spreading its policy of "ethnic cleansing."

Western leaders have not been without means to influence events in the Balkans. They have chosen to ignore and deny those means, for reasons (fear of runaway democracy in Europe, impending elections) that we are all free to speculate about. Nor will they explain why they will use air power in Iraq and not in Bosnia.

Now, in conscience, they must decide on a clear course. If they have no intention of taking tough action, immediately, they should stop posturing about principle and strike the best deal possible with Serbs to save Muslim lives. Or, far preferably, they should do all they reasonably can to honor principle and save lives.

The New York Times.

Somalia: See, the UN Relief System Doesn't Work

By Rakiya Omaar and Alex de Waal

NEW YORK — Imagine that half the children in a hospital had died, and that senior consultants had predicted it a year earlier but nothing was done. Imagine also that a journalist discovered that this was but the latest in a long line of similar tragedies. The people would demand not just immediate measures to save the lives of the remaining children but also a public inquiry into what had gone wrong and the dismissal or prosecution of the guilty parties.

Change the hospital to Somalia and you have an accurate description of the disaster there and the United Nations' role in failing to prevent it. Perhaps a quarter of Somalia's children have died this year, and a similar number face imminent starvation. This was predicted last year by experienced relief agencies, notably the International Committee of the Red Cross and Save the Children Fund (of Britain). We all called on the UN humanitarian agencies—Unicef, the World Food Program and others—to act. They did not, and disaster duly occurred.

The UN agencies have no excuses. The dithering in the Security Council need not have stopped them from

following the lead of the Red Cross and starting humanitarian work in Somalia. The money was there, but they chose not to spend it. While sitting on their hands in neighboring Kenya, they did not even draw up contingency plans.

Six months after the UN secretary-general ordered the agencies back in, they are still far from a proper operational presence. A "technical mission" of 31 "experts" recently spent 10 days flitting around the country in airplanes, refusing to consult with the staffs of the voluntary agencies that stayed in Somalia through the worst months of fighting.

Most damning of all, this is not the first time. Every experienced relief worker can tell horrifying stories of the incompetence, complacency and even corruption of the UN agencies. Despite the efforts of their public relations officers, they are undoubtedly the most inefficient emergency relief bureaucracy in the world.

One of the untold stories of the 1984 Ethiopian famine was how the United Nations failed to respond to signs of crisis as the catastrophe unfolded. At one point the World Food Program scaled down an estimate of emergency food needs eightfold.

During the famine in southern Sudan, the United Nations did nothing for three years. And the one Unicef program helping voluntary agencies to fly supplies into the stricken area was actually closed down as the starvation approached its height.

These are only two examples from a long list. Veteran relief officials responsible for these disasters are now heading the UN operation in Somalia, calling themselves "experts." Until now, critics have stayed silent, fearing that governments and the public would stop contributing to humanitarian relief and also in hopes that the United Nations would be able to reform itself from within.

These hopes were reinforced by the creation of the new position of under-secretary-general for humanitarian affairs at the start of this year. The establishment of the office was designed to ensure that the United Nations' response to humanitarian agencies would be quicker, more efficient and better coordinated.

Somalia shows that adding more bureaucracy changes nothing. More radical reform is needed.

The first step is to face the facts. Unless there is an open and honest appraisal of the past, there is no chance of doing better. Continuing failure to take the humanitarian and diplomatic initiatives commensurate with the disaster in Somalia shows that internal reform is not enough.

The second step is to recognize the fundamental principle behind all effective public service: accountability. In poor countries like India and Botswana the same principles of accountability have been applied to famine prevention, and both have excellent records in averting such disasters.

But the United Nations remains unimpeachable. There is no glossolalia. An official responsible for allowing famine faces prosecution, not prosecution. This is a scandal.

The secretary-general must commission an independent inquiry into UN famine relief. Somalia must be No. 1 on the agenda. All files must be opened, and all responsible officials summoned to testify. The proceedings must be public. Those responsible must be called to account and punished, and if necessary prosecuted.

Western citizens would demand nothing less if their children were dying.

The commission of inquiry must be able to recommend sweeping reforms. It must institute lasting accountability. Secretary-General Butros Butros Ghali has promised a new broom, but the world should demand sunlight—the best disinfectant.

Rakiya Omaar, a Somali, is executive director of the New York-based human rights organization Africa Watch. Alex de Waal is associate director of Africa Watch. They contributed this comment to the Los Angeles Times.

Barbarity In Iraq's Marshland

By Emma Nicholson

The writer is a Conservative member of Parliament who works with Iraqi refugees in Iran and the West.

LONDON — On visits in the past year to the marshes of southern Iraq and refugee camps of Shites who have fled to Iran, I have found incontrovertible evidence of a policy of genocide inflicted by Saddam Hussein on the Iraqi Shites. It includes the deformed bodies of torture victims, people injured in attacks by Iraqi air and land forces, and broken families with grim stories of unending torment and killing.

The Baghdad regime has set out to obliterate the Shites. Its aim is to destroy some of the best people of modern Iraq, the people who build a society and make it function. About 25 percent of the refugees in the camps of Iran are graduates or professionally qualified, as are most of the young men fighting Saddam's forces in the marshes.

The West is right to act decisively against the Iraqi military now, although the campaign against the Shites long predates the Gulf War. Written orders from Saddam and other senior officials of the Baghdad regime to the generals in southern Iraq date back 15 years. They are chilling in the finality of their plans for Shites. Short statements with no explanation; just orders of destruction of a man, a family, a street of homes, a village. The words used are "destroy," "obliterate," "kill."

These papers, and countless case files of victims, can be found in Tehran in an office set up to document human rights abuses in Iraq.

Late last summer, I met a group of recent victims of the Saddam regime. Among them was a surgeon who had recently escaped from Iraq through the marshes. A few years earlier he had been seized and tortured mercilessly, day after day, with breaks only for him to recover consciousness. After 17 months the guards tired of him. He was put to watching and recording executions of political prisoners picked at random (always the same number, twice daily) among the 10,000 or so kept in Baghdad's largest prison.

The surgeon fled with other prisoners after a bombing raid by allied forces in the Gulf War six months before we met. I needed an interpreter to accompany me into the marshes. He accepted my request without hesitation, even though it involved sailing within a mile of Saddam's elite Republican Guard in southern Iraq.

The Baghdad regime is determined to destroy the culture as well as homes and families of Iraqi Shites. For years, only minimal education has been provided to the south. Children are growing up illiterate and uneducated, despite the best efforts of their parents and spiritual leaders. Without schools, books, teaching equipment and salaries for teachers, no real education can take place. With almost no books, thousands of children in refugee camps in Iran are struggling to learn the basic skills of reading, writing and math.

Holy cities, with centuries of spiritual history and great architectural beauty, have been destroyed. Hundreds of holy men have been executed or driven out of Iraq.

In the marshes there has been no education at all for many months, no medicine and little food, save that smuggled in by boat from Iran. That slender lifeline has become more difficult to use in recent months as the Iraqi military moves around the marshes has lightened remorselessly.

This labyrinth of waterways is bedded with dense forests of papyrus reeds several times the height of a man. The air is thick with malarial mosquitoes; the temperature in daytime climbs beyond 50 degrees centigrade (122 degrees Fahrenheit). Only the marsh Arabs, whose history stretches back to 3000 B.C., have managed to exist for long in this environment so hostile to human life.

The last four months have seen the heaviest assaults by Iraqi air and land forces. These have been combined with systematic draining of marshland and the dumping of city sewage in the waters to make them so polluted that they become uninhabitable for both marsh Arabs and Shiite fighters and refugees.

Only outside military intervention can stop Saddam. If the West's sensible first step of an air gambit does not halt attacks by Iraqi forces on the Shites, the Gulf War allies must finish the job they left half done in 1991. Failure to do so would render the international community's commitment to human rights through the United Nations worthless.

International Herald Tribune.

IN OUR PAGES: 100, 75 AND 50 YEARS AGO

1892: Blackened Ruin

NEW YORK — The Metropolitan Opera House is a blackened ruin, gutted by fire from cellar to roof in an hour and a half this morning (Aug. 27). Three quarters of a million dollars' worth of property are turned to ashes. And yet, in the face of this sudden calamity, Manager Stanton declared that the Metropolitan Opera House would be ready for use in November. As he said this, the flames were still licking the walls of the ruined house and the whistles of the fire engines were shrieking in his ears. With lightning-like rapidity the gold and cardinal decorations were converted into black ruins.

1917: Roumanian Fête

PARIS — The Roumanian colony here will celebrate today (Aug. 28) the birthday of Queen Marie and the anniversary of the entry of Roumania into the war. Mr. Lloyd George has sent the Prime Minister of Roumania

a telegram expressing cordial admiration for the bravery, endurance and heroism displayed by the Roumanian people during a year of exceptional trials. "The renaissance of the Roumanian army is a proof of the determination of the Allies to pursue the war until a victory which they will finish by obtaining."

1942: Aerial Pounding

LONDON — [From our New York edition:] The Russians from the east and their British and American allies from the west are engaged in a whipsaw aerial pounding of German-occupied Europe. It became apparent tonight (Aug. 27), with Soviet raids on Berlin and East German towns to which Ruhr and Rhineland industries have been moved and continued attacks launched from England. In their sixth big foray against the enemy's might in western Europe, American Flying Fortresses bombed shipyards at Rotterdam, and all returned home this afternoon.

Mr. President, I Knew Harry Truman

By Margaret Truman

WASHINGTON — My father, Harry S. Truman, would not be flattered, but he surely would be flabbergasted to learn that he has become the mascot of the Republican Party and the model for President George Bush's campaign for re-election.

I certainly have been astonished, sitting in my home in New York listening to Republican orators on television praise the 33rd president of the United States—who was always so staunchly Democratic and won the 1948 campaign with an unrelenting attack on the Republican majority in the "do-nothing 80th Congress," as he called it.

There have been not merely passing references to him and his triumph in 1948; there have been repeated declarations from Republicans, beginning with the president himself, that they intend to emulate the 1948 Truman campaign. How hypocritical can they get?

Even in the speech accepting my party's nomination, President Bush concluded with this long reference to my father:

"Forty-four years ago, in another age of uncertainty, a different president embarked on a similar mission. His name was Harry S. Truman."

And as he stood before his party to accept their nomination, Harry Truman knew the freedom I know this evening, the freedom to talk about what's right for America and let the chips fall where they may.

"Harry Truman said this: 'This is more than a political call to arms. Give me your help, not to win votes alone, but to win this new crusade and keep America safe and secure for its own people.'"

As William Safire, columnist and former speech writer in the Nixon White House, wrote in The New York Times: "The president 'redefined' himself as Harry Truman because he could not define himself as George Bush."

But President Bush was somewhat off the mark. The quotation he attributed to Harry Truman was actually a paraphrase from Franklin D. Roosevelt's own 1932 acceptance speech, and my father gave President Roosevelt credit for it.

In speeches since this year's Republican convention, President Bush has continued to play the Truman theme. On Aug. 22 in Dallas he said: "You know Harry Tru-

man took it this way. He went out across the country, he got in his sights the Congress, took his case to the people, and then he linked his opponent right into those sights. Well, let me tell you this: I'm going to do the same thing."

He was talking about the 1948 Truman whistle-stop railroad tour across the country, and he lifted one of the characteristic Trumanesque battle cries from that campaign. In Springfield, Illinois, Abe Lincoln's hometown, he said: "I'm going to do what Harry Truman did. No, it's not give 'em hell; they're going to think it's hell when I get through with them."

Personally, I have always found President Bush to be a friendly, pleasant man, invariably courteous to me. I never suspected that behind this Ivy League facade there was a political plagiarist.

Of course, after many years on the political battlefield, nothing should surprise me. It would not surprise Harry Truman. Truman politicians are just lucky that he's no longer around to shoot back. I don't think they would dare try to outpace him or kidnap him or steal his best lines if he were still with us.

In his absence, President Bush is brazenly assuming the role of Harry Truman. To paraphrase Senator Lloyd Bentsen when in 1988 he rebuked Dan Quayle for comparing himself to John F. Kennedy, I would say to George Bush: "You are no Harry Truman."

The Washington Post.



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سكنا من الامم

OPINION

Kindly Stop This Nonsense About Divine Partisanship

By William Safire

WASHINGTON — Remember when politicians concluded their speeches with "Thank you and good night?" Gone are those secular days. At the Republican Convention, Pat Buchanan ended with "God bless you, and God bless America." Ronald Reagan followed with greater specificity: "God bless each and every one of you, and God bless this country we love."

Next night, Jack Kemp put it in two short sentences: "God bless you. God bless America." Off-keynote Phil Gramm went back to the standard form: "God bless you, and God bless America."

Barbara Bush's refusal to be programmed manifested itself in her offbeat "Thank you, and God bless you," defiantly leaving out America, but Marilyn Quayle brought us back to a state of grace with both "Thank you very much" and "God bless you, and God bless America."

George Bush resisted regimentation at the end of his acceptance harangue by using "may" and giving the nation its full name: "May God bless you, and may God bless the United States of America," defying the convention script-writer's discipline by ad-libbing impulsively. "Thank you very much."

Let us bow our heads in thanksgiving: Never has the name of God been so frequently invoked, and never has any nation been so thoroughly and systematically blessed, as in the 1992 campaign.

Although we were told that Mr. Bush did not read the Republican platform, and so was unfamiliar with its no-abortion-under-any-circumstances plank, he did scrutinize the Democratic platform; the president shocked evangelicals with the revelation that it did not include "three simple letters: G-O-D."

Democrats cannot readily complain about this GOP enlistment of G-O-D because this generation's recruitment of the Deity in politics began with born-again Jimmy Carter's 1976 campaign. And in New York last month, Bill Clinton nine times evoked a religious image with his new "covenant," and concluded his acceptance address with "God bless you, and God bless America."

But the voter-viewer can ask: Why has "God bless you" become the universal, politically required sign-off? And by what ecclesiastical authority do politi-

cians, in holy alliance, bestow God's blessing on us and our country?

The answer is that the name of the Lord is being used as a symbol for the other side's immorality, much as the American flag was used in previous campaigns as a symbol for the other side's lack of patriotism.

A few years ago, Democrats answered the Nixonite flag lapel pin with heavy flag drapery; are Democrats now to counter Mr. Bush's wooing of the religious right with fervent protestations of morality, displaying red, white and blue crosses and stars?

I hope not. The more effective response is to challenge the religious propriety of any political organization's claim to having God on its side.

Abraham Lincoln addressed that in his Second Inaugural. The North, fighting against slavery, was certain it was doing God's will; why, the Emancipator wondered, did God let the terrible bloodshed go on and on?

Lincoln's conclusion was that God might not be on either side: "The Almighty has his own purposes." He later wrote to a political ally about that speech: "I believe it is not immediately popular. Men are not flattered by being shown that there has been a difference of purpose between the Almighty and them."

That Inaugural, with its "malice toward none" peroration, is now popular, but its troubling theological point is missed: God is not in moral bondage to Man. His design is not for us to discern. As the biblical Job learned, God does not have to do justice on earth — nor need He explain the suffering of innocent babes in Somalia, Bosnia or Kurdistan.

Believers may properly refer to God with respect in every activity, including politics, but it is the height of presumption — irreverence to the point of blasphemy — for any political or religious leader to arrogate the right to cast God's vote. His is the most secret ballot of all.

Whose side is God on in the 1992 presidential race? His side.

Thank you, God bless each and every reader of this column, even you leafies. And God bless America — which is not to say that God should not also bless the rest of the world.

The New York Times.



LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

A Hot Air Industry

Regarding the report "UN University in Tokyo Is Accused of Studying Mainly Itself" (Aug. 5) by Steven Brill.

Your courageous publication of four letters in response to Mr. Brill's article has caused me to do some soul-searching, having worked for the United Nations University for seven years. How is it possible for various officials of said organization to have such opposite ideas about its utility and direction?

I think the answer is that the current problems of the world, poverty, hunger, etc., are not intellectual problems. I fear that you are now going to be inundated by the university's propaganda department in an attempt to persuade your readers that the UNU somehow does do something tangible for the world. But here is how it functions.

First you pay staff and reimburse their travel expenses. (A clever staff member travels as much as possible, for

then he receives travel subsistence allowance in addition to his cost-of-living adjustment for Tokyo, even when he is not there.) Next, if any money is left over, and not much is, you see what you can do to show that the UNU has some general purpose. You organize meetings (to produce what amounts to hot air), print as many pamphlets etc. as you can (to perpetuate the hot air), farm out research (to seek new topics for hot air) and then train people, mostly from the Third World. And what do you train them in? Why, in how to cash in on the commiseration-with-the-world's-poor-and-hungry (hot air) industry.

LESLIE SCHENK, Chevilly-Larue, France.

Sensible Britain

Regarding "At Home and Abroad, Britain's Bright Visions Slowly Dim" (Aug. 5) by Glenn Frankel.

As an American resident of Britain for more than 15 years, I can under-

stand how non-Britons can overreact to what appears to be a deterioration of a once great power as it attempts to cope with persistent problems of class divisions, economic stagnation and educational inequities.

The fact of the matter remains that this stable and pleasant country continues to emanate common sense and courageous leadership even as it grapples with the dilemmas common to most industrial democracies.

ROBERT MCGEEHAN, Oxford, England.

Letters intended for publication should be addressed "Letters to the Editor" and contain the writer's signature, name and full address. Letters should be brief and are subject to editing. We cannot be responsible for the return of unsolicited manuscripts.

Confined in the Coffee Shop With Beard and Five Jerks

By Andrew Ward

WASHINGTON — One night when I was a student in the 1960s, I got stuck for a few hours in the coffee shop of the Cleveland bus station. Around midnight five steelworkers came in and sat near me at the counter. I think it must have been a Friday night, because as I remember one of them said he was headed south to visit his family for the weekend.

In any case, they were all a little tanked, and every now and then one or another of them would look over at me

MEANWHILE

and say, "Whaddya say, pal?" or "How's it going, sport?" and then turn to the others and laugh.

I had recently grown a beard, not only because I have a weak chin but because without a beard I couldn't get anybody to persecute me. At the time I somehow felt that I needed to experience a little persecution if I were to perpetuate my righteous indignation and make sense of the world.

Back then a beard pegged you far left of center and annoyed the hell out of barbers, truckers and other American patriots.

I did not respond to the five steelworkers' conversational gambits, and when they began to veer off onto the subject of Jews and aim their animus in my direction, I finally realized that they assumed from my beard and black raincoat that I had to be some kind of rabbi. I quickly finished my pie and walked as unobtrusively as I could out of the coffee shop.

I was already accustomed to the hostility my beard engendered, but what unnerved me this time around was that one of the most vociferous of my tormentors happened to be black.

During the years when I marched for civil rights I met a good many black people whose better angels had survived circumstances I could not have borne. So I was a romantic about the downtrodden; never having actually experienced poverty and discrimination myself, I believed they were necessarily unbothered hardships.

Back then blacks and liberal whites tended to steer their conversations with

each other pretty carefully. Martin Luther King Jr. was still leading us all to the mountaintop, and until black power kicked in, blacks and whites didn't want to risk confronting some obdurate difference between them. Nevertheless I believed I had developed some empathetic bond with Afro-Americans. And now here was a black steelworker shouting "Kike!" at me as I boarded my bus, and getting clapped on the back by white men the spit and image of the mill workers who had recently hurled bottles at me and my fellow pickets for insisting on the right of black people to work at the Hammermill Paper Co.

I do not know what accommodation that steelworker believed he had to make to find a place in a white man's world and a white man's union. But as I rode my bus along the Ohio Turnpike, it occurred to me for the first time that one of the rights I had been marching for was the right of a black man to be every bit as much of a jerk as anyone else.

Since then I have heard Jews complain about blacks and blacks complain about Jews and Hispanics complain about Asians — I think in the last dozen years I've heard just about everybody complain about everybody.

Those workers had been wrong about me — I wasn't a rabbi or even a Jew. But it didn't matter very much who they thought I was or what epithet they hurled at me. I was different from them, and to explain that difference they had to lead through an abridged directory of ignorant assumptions to tag me with something.

And I had been wrong about these little encounters with man-on-the-street prejudice that I invited on account of my beard. The kind of persecution I had courted was halfhearted, vicarious, as escapable as the nearest razor.

I never did shave off my beard because I never really had to. During the past two decades the prejudice against beards has almost disappeared. In fact, we have made such progress in America that today, if you were a black man stranded in a white neighborhood, you would be almost as likely to be beaten up by long-haired men in beards as by clean-shaven men with crew cuts.

The Washington Post.

GENERAL NEWS

Pretoria Sets Police Shake-Up To 'Bridge Gap' With Blacks

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

PRETORIA — The South African government unveiled on Thursday a major shake-up of the police, including the retirement of 13 generals, in an effort to restore confidence in a force accused of racism and inciting political violence.

The law and order minister, Herens Kriel, said that several black officers would be promoted to the rank of major general by the end of the year. Blacks were barred from such senior posts under the apartheid system.

Mr. Kriel said at a news conference: "I trust that this hand of friendship will be accepted by the entire community and all parties as a genuine gesture aimed at bridging the gap which exists between the

South African police and certain communities."

Opposition groups have repeatedly accused the police of fomenting violence among blacks. Most blacks see the police as a repressive force perpetuating white domination.

The African National Congress pulled out of power-sharing talks with the government in June to protest chronic violence in black townships. Congress leaders put much of the blame for the violence on the security forces.

The shake-up appeared to be part of government efforts to get the ANC back to the talks. The constitutional affairs minister, Roelf Meyer, said he was having discussions with the organization

on resuming negotiations but would not comment further.

Government leaders, while denying that police instigate violence, acknowledged the need for sweeping changes in police attitudes.

Mr. Kriel outlined changes including a new unit to investigate crimes by police officers, a new division to promote community relations and moves to improve police training and end discrimination.

He said 13 generals would retire but added that they were leaving as part of the restructuring, not for any other reason. Mr. Kriel said five other generals had previously announced their retirement.

The 114,000-member police force has 54 generals, officials said. About 56 percent of the force is nonwhite, but most senior positions are held by whites.

Several senior black officers are to start a special course in September and be promoted to major general if they pass, Mr. Kriel said.

The police said Thursday that at least 17 people had been killed in political violence during the past 24 hours. In one attack, armed men killed five blacks on a commuter train. It was the third attack on black commuters in two days, the police said.

The police said men armed with guns and knives carried out the latest attack on Wednesday night east of Johannesburg. Two other passengers were wounded.

In an attack on Wednesday morning, three people were killed by a gang that police said rampaged through a train. On Tuesday night nine blacks were wounded by gunmen firing from a train leaving Johannesburg central station.

The ANC threatened on Wednesday to call for a new boycott of commuter trains to protest the failure of police to halt attacks.

(AP, Reuters)

Western Sahara Forgotten In Morocco's Vote Schedule

The Associated Press

RABAT, Morocco — A referendum on constitutional reform is to be held here next month, ahead of local elections across the nation Oct. 16, including in the disputed Western Sahara.

Morocco is no longer talking about a separate referendum on independence for the Western Sahara, a huge former Spanish colony annexed by Rabat in 1975, and voting for a new parliament, which had been expected for September, will come after the local elections, the Interior Ministry said.

The United Nations-sponsored referendum, originally set for last January but repeatedly postponed, was to have decided whether the Western Sahara, at the northwestern corner of Africa, favored independence. Now Morocco is including it in the local and national voting, effectively taking over the territory without a referendum.

The reforms to the 1972 constitution amount to minor tinkering, such as stipulating that King Hassan II names cabinet members upon recommendation from the prime minister and that the investiture of the government is approved by parliamentary vote.

Morocco has more than 11 million registered voters, but critics say that Rabat, seeking to absorb the Western Sahara, has flooded the territory with settlers to weight the vote. The Marxist Polisario movement and Nonaligned nations in particular have criticized Morocco for exploiting voter eligibility in the area.

China's Counterstep on Rights

By Lena H. Sun

Washington Post Service

BEIJING — The authorities have provided new details about political and religious prisoners in what appears to be part of a more sophisticated strategy to counter Western criticism of China's human rights record, a human rights lobbyist reported.

John Kamm, a Hong Kong-based American businessman who visits Beijing regularly to discuss human rights with Chinese officials, was given photographs of one prominent jailed dissident and was told by the authorities that they plan to show a videotape of him and others to the UN Human Rights Commission in Geneva within the next week.

The authorities gave Mr. Kamm details on all 23 individuals whose cases he raised, including information about recent releases of three political dissidents and two Protestant preachers. Until the last few years, Chinese officials almost never supplied information about such prisoners.

Mr. Kamm said officials told him that the videotape to be released in Geneva would show three of China's most famous political prisoners. They are Wang Dan, the student leader of the 1989 Tiananmen Square democracy movement who is serving a four-year sentence; Xu Wenli, 49, a railroad electrician-turned-

editor who has served 11 years of his 15-year jail sentence in solitary confinement for his role in the Democracy Wall movement of 1979-80; and Ren Wandong, 48, another veteran democracy activist from that period who is serving seven years for his role in the 1989 movement.

The authorities gave Mr. Kamm photographs they said were of Mr. Xu taken in May at Beijing's No. 1 Prison.

In the past year, the authorities have released videotapes and photographs of prominent political prisoners in an effort to discredit reports by human rights groups about their condition and treatment. The U.S.-based organization Asia Watch said several photographs released so far had been carefully staged and highly deceptive.

Both Mr. Ren and Mr. Xu have been said by family members and friends to be in poor health. Mr. Ren is reportedly in danger of losing the sight in one eye.

"If they are trying to suggest that Xu has been treated humanely, that is propaganda of the most cynical and unconscionable kind," said Robin Murray, head of Asia Watch's Hong Kong office. He said Mr. Xu had been in solitary confinement and was "called out suddenly" to play in the badminton match. Mr. Xu was aware he was being photographed, Mr. Murray said.

Large advertisement for Lufthansa featuring the text 'Our Lufthansa. Your airline.' and the Lufthansa logo.

Israel's West Bank Proposals: Optimism (and Experience)

By Don Oberdorfer

Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — Whether Israel's proposals for limited Palestinian self-rule mark a fundamental or a marginal advance in the Middle East peace talks depends on which delegation one listens to, and whether Mideast observers pay more attention to their hopes or the sterner voice of experience.

Beyond the substance of the discussions, the tone and seriousness of the talks are much improved by comparison with earlier sessions, a development that may set the stage for future progress.

But is the glass half-full or half-empty? How far can the shifts this week take the Middle East peace conference? These are unanswered questions as the first week of the sixth round of Arab-Israeli negotiations closed here Thursday.

NEWS ANALYSIS

The return to power of the Labor Party in the June elections has raised hopes in some quarters for a breakthrough in the peace talks, which began at the U.S.-brokered Madrid conference last October. There is no doubt that the new government of Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin has a much more positive view of the talks and would like to move ahead.

Israeli officials said that in the negotiations Tuesday, Israel for the first time spelled out clearly the powers and functions it would be willing to cede to a newly elected Palestinian administrative council, to run the daily lives of residents in the West Bank and Gaza during a five-year period.

The details were summarized in separate papers on 15 areas, from the administration of justice and the operations of local police to religious affairs and social welfare. Many additional details will be presented if discussions on these plans begin at the conference table, Israeli sources said.

In addition, Israel presented a draft agenda for the current negotiations as well as a paper providing Israeli ideas and proposals for achieving agreement. Among other things, Israel spelled out an ambitious timetable: agreement on the basic concepts of Palestinian administration in the occupied territories of the West Bank and Gaza by this December, agreement on the specific powers and responsibilities of a Palestinian administrative council by February, and elections among Palestinians for the administrative council next April or May.

Palestinian delegates said they were happy to receive the Israeli ideas, which they said would be

studied carefully and seriously. But a Palestinian spokeswoman, Hanan Ashrawi, said the Israeli concept differed in fundamental ways from the Palestinian position.

The basic difference, as both sides were well aware before the talks began, is that Palestinians propose to elect a 180-member legislative body with much greater power and authority than the 15-to-15-member administrative body that Israel has in mind. Israel fears such a legislative body would swiftly move toward establishment of a Palestinian state; the Palestinians argue that an administrative council would be unacceptable as a substitute for Israeli military control and Israeli law.

"This is a bumpy road," said an American official, speaking of the first three days of the new round of talks. The crucial thing that is generating hope, this official said, is that the parties to the conflict are fully engaged in real negotiations.

Nearly all public discourse about the negotiations is more positive and less contentious than in the past. Officials seem to be trying harder to protect the confidentiality of the talks, and to refrain from slamming doors. Nobody wants to be seen as the side that destroys hopes for agreement and eventual peace.

Nonetheless, officials on all sides recognize that the changes this week represent only a down payment on the required progress.

The Israeli-Syrian set of negotiations, second only in difficulty to those between Israel and the Palestinians, started positively. Israel's new negotiator, Itamar Rabinovich, started by acknowledging that UN Security Council Resolution 242 of 1967, which envisages a trade of land for peace, applies to the Golan Heights. But so far, he has not gone beyond this general statement, and the expectation is that he will offer only a partial Israeli withdrawal from the Golan Heights, if that. Judging by public statements, that is still unacceptable to Syria.

The Israeli-Jordanian negotiations are nearing agreement on a common agenda for this round of the peace talks. If that can be achieved, it would be a worthwhile advance, both sides agree. But there is little expectation on either side that Israel and Jordan can reach an accord while the Palestinian issues remain unsettled.

The Israeli-Lebanese negotiations, the fourth set taking place under the Mideast talks umbrella, appear to be on hold. Lebanon is in the midst of contentious national elections and Syria, until now, has been in position to call the Lebanese diplomatic time.



FOOD FOR PEACE — A Kabul breadseller wearing his wares and seeking customers as he strolled through a crowded market after both sides accepted a 72-hour cease-fire. In Peshawar, Afghan sources said a delegation including a Saudi Arabian official and a former Pakistani general were leaving for talks in Kabul.

Rabin Has Yet to Gain Confidence of Arab Campus

By David Hoffman

Washington Post Service

BIR ZEIT, Israeli-Occupied West Bank — In the cafeteria of the newly opened campus of Bir Zeit University, the walls are hung with a few photographs of the "martyrs" students killed in the four-year Palestinian uprising. Beneath the pictures, bustling students are looking ahead to the coming semester, poring over course schedules and scholarship lists.

The scene illustrates how many Palestinians view the goodwill gestures offered in recent days by Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin. As they look ahead and hope for better times, the Israeli occupation is still a day-to-day concern, and Mr. Rabin is still remembered as the defense minister who promised to use "force, power and blows" against the Palestinian uprising, or *intifada*.

While Mr. Rabin has trumpeted in recent days his decision to cancel the deportation of 11 Palestinians, release 800 prisoners early, unseal houses and open streets that were closed, there is deep skepticism at Bir Zeit that Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip will be eased soon. Four of the 11 near-deportees had ties to this campus, a bastion of support for the *intifada*, and Mr. Rabin's announcements drew little enthusiasm from faculty members and students interviewed as they prepared for the start of classes.

"They were steps just to improve the face of the occupation," said the student council president, Ibrahim Khraisli, 27, who was released last year after six years in prison. "Rabin is a symbol of the occupation. But after Shamir, Rabin has tried to make a different picture, as a man of peace."

Although Bir Zeit may not be representative of Israel's entire Arab population, the skepticism here underscores a challenge facing Israeli and Palestinian negotiators at the ongoing Middle East peace talks. According

to many Israeli and Arab analysts, if discussions about Palestinian self-rule and elections are to bear fruit, the negotiators must build confidence at home that their efforts will bring tangible improvements in day-to-day life.

The students say they are still waiting for those improvements, despite Mr. Rabin's initiatives, which were timed to coincide with the resumption of the talks in Washington.

"I want a change in depth, not only on the surface," said Mr. Khraisli. "The changes Rabin has tried, to say he's a different man, are not deep. It's a very small thing. Before we talk about releases from prison, we must talk about why they put us in prison."

The Bir Zeit campus was closed for more than four years during the uprising. Among the 11 who were to be deported was Omar Assaf, a librarian at Bir Zeit, as well as a student and two alumni.

In announcing that he had canceled the deportation orders issued by former Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir's hard-line government, Mr. Rabin said all 11 would instead serve six months' detention in Israel's Ketziot Prison and that he would reserve the

right to use exile as a punishment in the future.

Earlier this year, Mr. Shamir's government permitted the gradual reopening of the school on a new campus. Carpenters and electricians were working recently to put some offices and classrooms in order, while throngs of students pressed to see schedules and other information posted on bulletin boards.

"Rabin is trying to show the world he's different than Shamir," said Mazen Badra, head of the business department. "I'm trying to trust Rabin. I'm optimistic. Yet I want to see if things will really be implemented on the ground."

"The reality is different than the declarations," he added. "What we heard is not

happening on the ground. What we feel is different from what Rabin says on television."

Mr. Rabin announced, for example, that the upper age limit for Arab workers who need special permits to enter Israel to work would be lowered to 50 from 60. But Mr. Badra said that left many Palestinians still subject to an onerous permit system. Mr. Badra said he needed a permit to travel from his home in Beit Sahur, south of Jerusalem, to Bir Zeit, which is north of Jerusalem near Ramallah.

"It's not just the permit, it's the process itself," he said.

"I have to wait three days at military headquarters to get it. And many days, you wait and they say, 'Sorry, the computer is broken, come back.' The process itself is the humiliating part."

He added, "If they at least ease the situation, attitudes might change."

Moving to the campus has restored a sense of normalcy to education after years of holding scattered classes in homes, restaurants and hotels, Mr. Badra said.

But he said there is much more to be done. "We have been under occupation a long time. Rabin is trying to cancel some things imposed on the Palestinians. But when he says he is going to let 800 prisoners out, I want to ask, how many are left in Ketziot? Thousands. Usually, every month, 800 leave and 1,000 go in."

Deadlock Eases in UN Cyprus Talks

By Frank J. Priol

New York Times Service

UNITED NATIONS, New York — A solution to the decades-old problem of a divided Cyprus may be nearer than at any time since 1974, according to a report to the Security Council.

The report indicated that the two leaders of ethnic groups on the divided island — President George Vassiliou, a Greek Cypriot, and the Turkish Cypriot leader, Rauf Denktaş — are closer on fundamental issues than Greek and Turkish leaders have been.

They held two sets of talks here earlier this year and are scheduled to return for further talks beginning Oct. 26. The council urged the two men, when they return in October, to remain at UN headquarters until they agree on an overall framework based on a set of ideas outlined by the secretary-general.

Until recently, neither side could agree on questions of land and refugees. Diplomats here say that the Turks have eased their stance, on both issues, agreeing in principle to compensate refugees who cannot move back to their old homes. At the same time, the Greeks are said to have abandoned their longtime desire to unite the entire island under the Greek Cypriot flag.

Under the UN plan advanced by Secretary-General Butros Butros Ghali, Cyprus would have a single federal government with a single citizenship, as well as a politically equal, two-zone federation. A legislature would be created with upper and lower houses.

Britain governed Cyprus until 1960, when an independent republic of Cyprus was born. Over the next decade, bitter rivalries flared between Christian Greek Cypriots and Muslim Turkish Cypriots.

In 1974, Turkey invaded the island, ostensibly to protect the Turkish Cypriots, who then as now make up about 20 percent of the population and hold about 40 percent of the territory.

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Hezbollah Wins 8 Legislative Seats As Political Crisis Deepens in Beirut

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

BAALBEK, Lebanon — Hezbollah, the Shiite Muslim fundamentalist group that has tormented the West for a decade, won a landslide victory in legislative elections for the eastern Lebanon district of Baalbek, according to results announced Thursday.

The victory means that the pro-Iranian group, known as the Party of God, would join the Lebanese National Assembly for the first time. The group won eight seats in the 105-seat legislature.

The results were announced as the Syrian-backed government continued to reel from the resignations Wednesday of two cabinet members, both prominent Christians, who were protesting the timing of the elections.

On Thursday, 45 members of the legislature called for the elections to be stopped.

The resignations plunged Lebanon into its worst political crisis since the civil war ended two years ago. Foreign Minister Faris Bouez and Communications Minister George Sadeh submitted their resignations on Tuesday after the cabinet decided to hold the second and third rounds of the elections this Sunday and on Sept. 6.

"The political climate is very cloudy," Mr. Sadeh said. Mr. Bouez said he had tried but failed to bring about a compromise. "Therefore I have decided to resign," he said.

The Muslim speaker of parliament, Hussein Husni, said on Monday that he was stepping down to protest what he termed irregularities and vote-rigging. The Christians assert that until Syrian troops are withdrawn from Lebanon, elections cannot be held without intimidation.

"From the beginning I worked to postpone the elections and to try to let everyone think about the danger that comes from such an elections," Mr. Bouez said.

Finally, he added, referring to his resignation, "I had to take this decision."

Mr. Sadeh, 64, who also is head of the Phalangist Party, had shuttled on Wednesday between President Elias Hrawi and the Maronite Christian Patriarch Nasrallah Sfeir in an attempt to find a compromise on the election issue.

Interior Minister Sami Khatib said the resignations of the two ministers from the 24-member cabinet would "increase the complications of the crisis" and said that the cabinet would hold a session soon to discuss the issue.

Mr. Khatib also said that calling off the elections would have "consequences on the continuity of the state."

He added that there was still a possibility of delaying the polls in Beirut and Mount Lebanon but did not elaborate.

The Druze leader, Walid Jumblatt, also criticized the elections on Thursday. Mr. Jumblatt accused Mr. Khatib of having rigged the balloting and asserted that Lebanon was "turning into a banana republic."

"But despite it all, we must play the game to try and limit the damage," he said. "The boycott decided by the Christians is stupid. They're just putting themselves out of the game."

The elections began on Aug. 23 with voting in north and east of Lebanon and are scheduled to resume on Sunday in Beirut and the Mount Lebanon area, where the Christian opposition to the elections is strongest.

Christians, who have declared a three-day strike this weekend, called on churches to toll their bells in mourning on Sunday "for the end of freedom and democracy."

They assert that the elections are a plot by Syria, which controls two thirds of Lebanon with its 40,000 troops, to tighten its grip on their country.

7 Wounded By Troops in Gaza Strip

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

JERUSALEM — Seven Palestinians were shot and wounded by Israeli soldiers in clashes on Thursday in the occupied Gaza Strip, Israeli and Palestinian said.

The shootings followed a gun battle Wednesday in the Israeli-occupied West Bank in which four people, including an undercover paramilitary soldier, were killed.

Two Palestinian fugitives and an Arab woman were also killed in the battle, one of the most violent confrontations yet between Israeli undercover squads and Palestinians. Two girls, ages 1½ and 3 years, and an Arab woman were wounded in crossfire.

The two fugitives had taken cover in a house in Jenin after being spotted by an undercover unit of the Israeli Border Police, according to the army and Israeli radio accounts. As the unit tried to break in, the commander of the squad, Elyahu Avram, 29, was shot and killed, the military said.

One, Ibrahim Zariki, 21, was wanted for the slaying of an Israeli gasoline tank truck guard, the army said. The other, Ibrahim Jalama, 18, had been sought since October 1989 and was suspected of throwing bombs at army patrols and killing suspected Palestinian collaborators.

(Reuters, AFP, NYT) (AFP, WP)

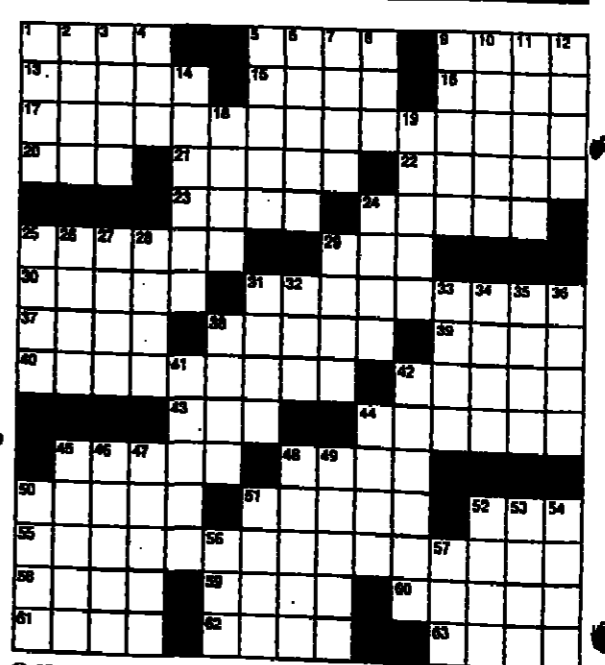
- ACROSS
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- 13 Circa
- 15 Spill over
- 16 Not any
- 17 Greetings to new parents
- 20 A social
- 21 Improve
- 22 Popular gift
- 23 Weskit
- 24 Hermit
- 25 Sluggish
- 29 Kind of cross
- 30 Exert moral pressure
- 31 Cause for joy
- 37 Lebanon's — Gemayel
- 38 Sky sight
- 39 Netman
- 40 With 55 Across, more greetings
- 42 Sampler's "God — Our Home"
- 43 Silly one
- 44 Sri Lankan exports
- 48 Sentient
- 49 Redolence
- 50 "Ghosts" is one
- 51 Open to view
- 59 Copey's cousin
- 60 See 40 Across
- 68 Change of five
- 69 Columbus's state
- 60 Cut
- 61 Peel
- 62 Stash through water
- 63 Let it stand
- 64 Ems or Baden-Baden
- 65 Tear-jerker
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- 89 Die side
- 91 Skipjacks
- 92 Limb of the Devil
- 93 Swindle
- 94 Oil, in Olot
- 95 Stevens of Met fame
- 96 Stack role
- 97 Example
- 98 Ethiopian city
- 99 Pullman pads
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Solution to Puzzle of Aug. 27

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DOWN

- 1 NATO, e.g.
- 2 Shawm's descendant
- 3 Mrs. Chaplin
- 4 Haul
- 5 Noted author of children's books
- 6 Dull
- 7 — Ruler, Secretariat's sire
- 8 Ems or Baden-Baden
- 9 Tear-jerker
- 10 Beast in "Northern Exposure"
- 11 Kind of tube
- 12 Polanski film
- 14 Emulate Gulliver
- 18 Last word
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- 25 Actor Neeson
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- 48 Egg-shaped
- 49 Creator of Moll Flanders
- 50 Dew or lemon follower
- 51 Labor Dept. branch
- 52 Splice some shots
- 53 Ictarod, e.g.
- 54 Russian veto
- 56 President Ireland's gp
- 57 Sights in the B



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Handwritten Arabic text: "صلى الله عليه وسلم"

سكنا من الامم

Where's the beef?



Arab Camp
7 West
Beirut
By The
Case

Foreign corporations expanding in Europe face truly difficult decisions.

If you want a choice slice of Europe, where will you start looking?

For one, are marketing activities your goal or do you plan to set up manufacturing operations? Then there is the question of acquisition versus building up your

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European Economic Area (EEA) that will unite all of Western Europe - a unified market with 377 million consumers, accounting for 30% of global GNP and a full 43% of the world's international trade. Moreover the new democracies of Central and Eastern Europe are busily establishing free market economies and attracting private investment.

Europe is in a state of flux. It is clearly the right time to establish a market foothold - to stake out your claim to a choice slice of the market.

Many attractive official promotional programs have been set up to encourage foreign investment. There are also a number of local companies that might be attractive partners or potential acquisition targets. The problem is to objectively assess all the opportunities in

order to determine the best fit for your company.

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Lawrence Durrell Country

By Michael Balter

SOMMIÈRES, France — Stickers for geographical accuracy would situate Sommières in the Languedoc region of southern France and not in Provence. Thus when Lawrence Durrell's classic book, "Caesar's Vast Ghost: Aspects of Provence," was published just before the British-Irish author's death in November 1990, some of his neighbors in this medieval burg by the Vidourle River scolded him good-naturedly for sprinkling photographs of Sommières among the pages of text.



Françoise Kestman

Durrell replied that what he had in mind was the ancient Roman *provincia*, but it is unlikely that such distinctions really concerned him. What probably mattered more, as he sat each afternoon drinking white wine on the riverside terrace of the Bar Glacier, was that 30 kilometers (18 miles) south of Sommières the swift green current of the Vidourle drained into the Mediterranean.

This steamy sea had been the cauldron of Durrell's inspiration, and the vivid settings of his novels and travel books, which are flung like a garland around its hot-blooded waters: Alexandria, Cyprus, Rhodes, Corfu, Avignon.

Strange, then, that the austere stone man or in which the writer chose to spend the last quarter-century of his life is so atypical of the sun-drenched architecture of the region. Actually, this 19th-century house on the Route de Stauissine, surrounded by high stone walls and an unkempt garden, was picked out by his third wife, Claude, after the spectacular success of "The Alexandria Quartet" convinced her that their cottage in the hills above Nîmes was no longer suitable. Alas, of all of Durrell's marriages, his union with Claude was the one that ended while it was still happy, with her death, the following year.

"Only of late," Durrell sorrowed in a subsequent poem, "have I come to see this house / As something poisoned when I paid for it; / Its beauty was specious and it hid pure grief."

FOURTH marriage followed, and nearly a fifth. Durrell's companion for the last six years of his life was Françoise Kestman, a slim, gray-eyed Slavic immigrant who has lived in France since 1956. "From the beginning, he wanted to get married," said Kestman, who is a writer and translator. But she rebuffed him, saying she didn't see why it was necessary.

Then Durrell's health began to fail. "He became very anguished, because he said that women had always left him. To reassure him, I said O. K., on one condition, that he would let me repaint all the walls on the ground floor. He said, whatever you want. And he died the following morning."

Durrell had dedicated "Caesar's Vast Ghost" to Kestman, "magnificent in her generosity and her beauty." Also, he might have added, in her devotion.

Late last year, in collaboration with some of the author's literary friends, she transformed the ground floor of the house in Sommières into the Centre d'Études et de Recherches Lawrence Durrell. The research center, which provides short-term room and board to students and academics, houses several collections of the writer's books and papers. Only serious researchers are admitted, however; the occasional tourist who shows up wanting a tour is turned away.

"Françoise is carrying the torch, keeping the flame alive," says Michael Haag, a close friend of the couple who published Durrell's correspondence with Henry Miller. "Here is this big house, and the presence that once filled it is gone. A lot of people might say, well, why bother, what torch, and so on. But she's decided to do it."

HEAR THIS

An organization called The Collector's Collection in Williamsburg, Virginia, is offering original oil paintings of instant ancestors. Send in a color photo and presto, starting at \$160, your father can become one of the men rowing George Washington across the Delaware or your wife a face in the crowd in Toulouse-Lautrec's Moulin Rouge. You can even put Spot and your daughter into a Velázquez. To promote their paintings, the Collector's Collection is offering 8x10 color photos of a painting of General Ulysses S. Bush.

Although many of Durrell's books were based on his experiences as a British Foreign Service officer in the Mediterranean, it was in Britain that his work was most harshly judged. His steamy romanticism was often dismissed as overheated and lacking depth. Durrell's prose "is drenched in wine and olive oil," wrote the British author Anthony Burgess. "Because he preferred warm expatriation to the tepid recording of adultery in Hampstead, he was regarded as a kind of baroque traitor to our insular literary tradition."

Durrell's work was more enthusiastically received in the United States, and he is particularly appreciated in France, where his florid prose translates well.

Durrell, for his part, contemptuously referred to Britain as "Pudding Island."

His brother, Gerald Durrell, a naturalist and best-selling author, relates in his memoir "My Family and Other Animals" how the young Lawrence bullied their widowed mother into moving the family to the Greek island of Corfu. He quotes Lawrence as saying: "I can't be expected to produce deathless prose in an atmosphere of gloom and eucalyptus." It was on Corfu that the Mediterranean adventure began for both brothers.

AFTER Lawrence moved to Sommières, he sold the whitewashed cottage outside Nîmes to his brother, Gerald Durrell now spends the summers there with his American wife, Lee. A recent visitor found him nursing a glass of white wine on a patio overlooking the sun-baked *garrigue*. The face behind his white beard bore a jarring resemblance to that of his late older brother. "Larry said to me, why don't you come down to this part of France?" Gerald said. "It's got all the attributes of Greece, but with better cooking."

Lawrence's appreciation of the cuisine, and especially the wines, of southern France was notorious. Nevertheless, Gerald said, "I would put him down as a very sad, unhappy man. He was so humorous and quick-witted that it was hard to put your finger on it. You had to look beneath all those layers of glitter."

Certainly Claude's death, and the suicide in 1985 of his daughter Sappho, cast melancholy shadows over his last days. "I have never found anything that really pleased me," Durrell once told an interviewer. "I have always lived posthumously, although very gaily."

So, what is left behind? There are the books, of course. If staying in print is the best answer to the critics, the posthumous Durrell can muster a wide library shelf of rejoinders. There is a brother just down the road. And roaming the stone house in Sommières, a devoted near-widow who keeps the lights burning late into the night.

Michael Balter is a free-lance journalist living in Paris.



Sommières, the French village where the writer spent the last 25 years of his life.

THE MOVIE GUIDE

Storyville

Directed by Mark Frost, U.S.

Set in and around contemporary New Orleans, "Storyville" is about politics, lust, greed, oil leases, murder and closeted skeletons crying to get out. More particularly, it's about Cray Fowler (James Spader), the scion of a nouveau riche family, a young lawyer who is running for Congress both because he's expected of him and because he has nothing better to do. Cray wouldn't seem to be an ideal candidate for any elected office. His family values are questionable. He's separated from his birdbrained wife (Justine Arlin) and he has been carrying on an edgy affair with Natalie Tate (Joanne Whalley-Kilmer), an assistant district attorney. Yet when propositioned, he doesn't hesitate to have an overnight fling with Lee (Charlotte Lewis), a mysterious young woman whose motives are as suspect as her beauty is obvious. Mark Frost's work as David Lynch's collaborator on "Twin Peaks" is evident in almost every frame of "Storyville," though the new film is far less of a tease than the television series, a good deal shorter and much more fun. For all of its paperback melodramatics, "Storyville" looks terrific. A great physical production, with fine camera work by Ron Garcia, can go a long way to persuade audiences to accept outrageous coincidences and final revelations that are not entirely clear. (Vincent Canby, NYT)

Age ni Ikiwa

Directed by Makoto Sato, Japan.

This excellent new documentary is, as the title indicates, about the people "Living on the River Agano." These are the farmers and boatmen dwelling along one of North Japan's longest rivers. They are simple, direct, outspoken — and ill. The Showa Electric Company, a force still dominant in the region, has — says the film — been dumping organic mercury

into the river, poisoning those who live along the shores. Those victims who complain or attempt to obtain redress are much criticized by other community members who perhaps like having a big money-making concern in their midst. Makoto Sato, making his first film, lived for three years with these people. During that time they became so used to him and his crew that, forgetting about them, they just went on with their blighted lives. The result is a degree of authenticity rare in Japanese documentaries. Despite explanatory titles, a tire-some score and an "educational" commentary, the picture shows these admirable rural Japanese as they are: filled with patience, humor and the ability to survive. (Donald Richie, IHT)

Rapid Fire

Directed by Dwight H. Little, U.S.

If a list were compiled of movies that destroyed the most glass, "Rapid Fire" would probably rank near the top.

During its nonstop mayhem, several glass walls are shattered, and the film's star, Brandon Lee, guns his motorcycle through a window. Lee, son of the action star Bruce Lee, who died in 1973, plays Jake Lo, an indestructible college student and martial-arts virtuoso. The movie is shameless in exploiting the father-son connection to try to make the star, who exudes a bored, dead-eyed cool, seem sympathetic. Jake teams up with Mace Ryan (Powers Boothe), a hardened but still idealistic older policeman (and near dead ringer for the late actor John Ireland) to fight the Mafia. Mace becomes a surrogate for Jake's dead father, a Chinese freedom fighter who, in a clumsy flashback, is shown being shot to death in Tiananmen Square before his son's eyes. Lite and smooth-skinned, with a face so chiseled he seems to be sucking in his cheeks, Lee projects the slick, sulky arrogance of a Beverly Hills brat. (Stephen Holden, NYT)

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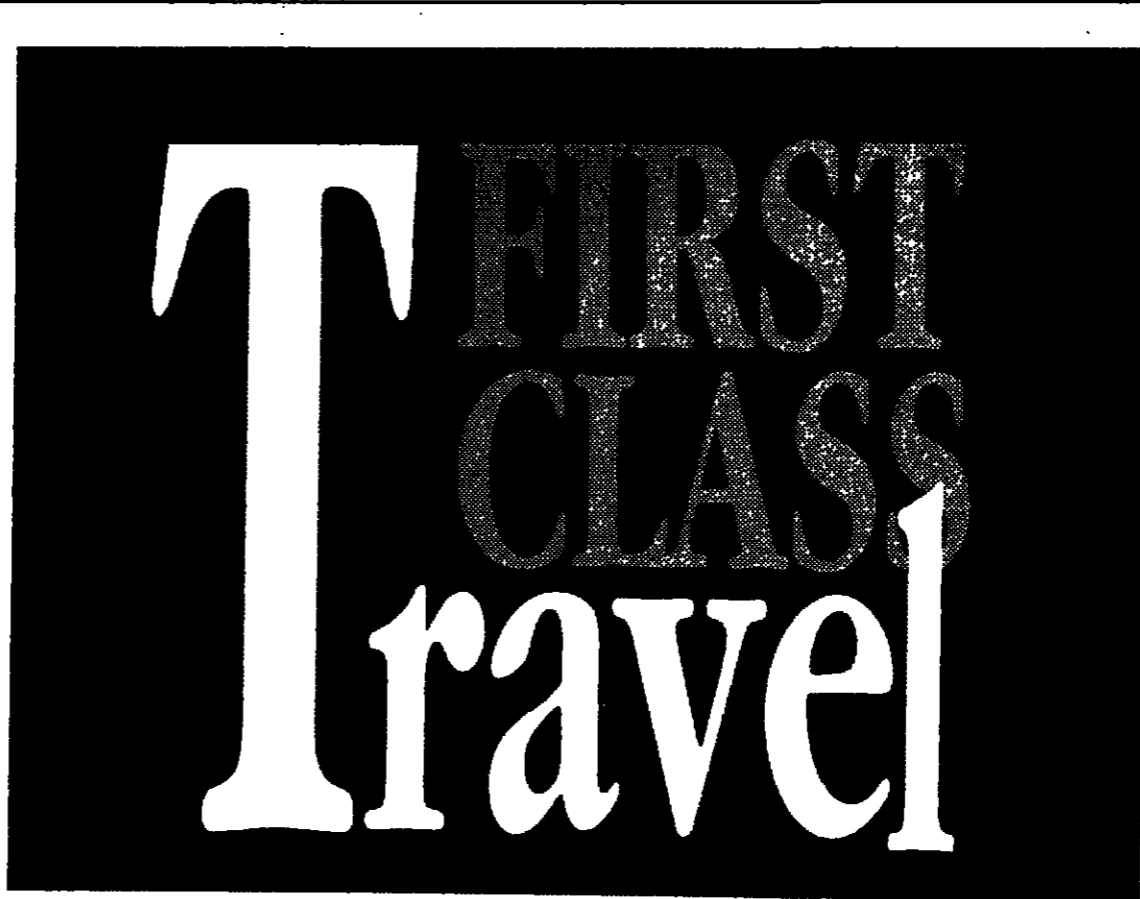
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L E I S U R E

Traditional Fare at Paris Foursome

By Patricia Wells
International Herald Tribune

PARIS—No matter which direction the wind blows in Paris, the dining tastes inevitably turn toward traditional French fare. There is also no doubt that today's food trends reflect the economic atmosphere of the times. And that means wine bars are becoming the "restaurant" of choice for many diners—for the best of the crop generally offer good value, drinkable wines by the glass, and they don't demand that you relinquish three hours of your life.

Le Passage is, quite easily, the wine bar of my dreams: Charles Jouget's Chateau; Alain Gaillet's Crozes-Hermitage; Eloi Durand's Domaine de Trevallon; salads tossed with my favorite olive oil (from Massane-les-Alpilles in Provence); bouzouk jazz music; and a staff that's cheery, helpful and efficient.

Add to that, a thoroughly varied menu—everything from a good steak tartare to a selection of pasta dishes to sample with Italian wines—great country bread from Boulangerie Furet around the corner, and respectable homemade desserts, such as a trio of *petits fours*, or a rich chocolate tart. Hidden at the end of the street, Le Passage Rue du Faubourg Saint-Antoine, Le Passage bustles day and night, offering a pleasant refuge away from traffic and urban roar. The wine bar offers a list of more than 70 wines, champagnes, *eaux-de-vie*, and *sweet vins liquoreux* to take home with you.

A calm oasis in the neighborhood of Notre Dame and Place Saint-Michel, Le Valenay is

the perfect spot to come for a quick—and well-chosen—glass of wine, a huge green salad tossed with walnuts, and a platter of lovely cheese, all served with freshly toasted pain *Pain de Campagne*. At lunch time, local businessmen come in shirt sleeves for the super-copious 60-franc (\$12.50) *plat du jour*. On my last visit, it was a meal of its own that included green salad, pan-seared steak smothered with shallots, and potatoes cooked in delicious goose fat. One good daily special to try—if it's on the menu—is the plate of soft, young crottin, or goat cheese, sprinkled with white wine and heated, making for a hit-the-spot luncheon course. A good selection of wines from throughout France is available by the glass, carafe, or bottle. Service is swift, professional and friendly.

The Clown Bar—just a few steps from the giant Cirque d'Hiver, or indoor circus—is a turn-of-the-century café turned wine bar that's worth a detour on decor alone. The walls are covered with cute, kitschy and beautiful tiles based on circus themes, while circus posters and other related memorabilia form a stage set for a pleasant mealtime interlude.

The food here is above average for wine bar fare, and includes salads of thinly sliced ham layered with pears cooked in red wine and spices (a great play of sweet and sour); platters of poached, lightly smoked sausages from the Jura village of Morez, and nicely grilled lamb chops. The Clown Bar also offers traditional wine bar platters of sausages, charcuterie or cheese.

The wine list is decent, offering some good wines from the Loire, Burgundy, Rhône, the southwest and Corsica.

Wander into the Bistrot des Augustins, a minuscule wine bar right across from the

book stalls on the quai, and you feel as though you've walked into a village bistro. The carved Art Deco oak bar is pure 1930s, the patronne sports a well-worn apron from Chiroubles, a village in the Beaujolais, and the aroma of the *plat du jour* fills the air.

On my last visit, it was a succulent platter of sautéed chicken, served with sautéed potatoes. Other good bets include simple tossed green salads topped with either grilled crottin or the marvelous cow's milk cheese, Saint-Marcellin. Around 2 in the afternoon, just as your thoughts turn to dessert, she sets down a hot-from-the-oven homemade apple tart, allowing it to cool near the windows as you plan your future. The bread's *Pain de Campagne*, and there are at least a dozen wines available by the glass, including selections from René Sinaud's Côte-du-Rhône, and a fine Saint-Amour, Côte Beaujolais, from the Domaines des Ducs. A great spot to know about when you need to get away from the throngs of tourists that inhabit this popular quartier.

Le Passage, 18 Passage de la Bonne-Graine, 11th arrondissement; tel: 47.00.73.30. Open 8 A.M. to 2 A.M. Closed Saturday lunch and Sunday. Credit card: Visa.

Le Valenay, 11 Boulevard du Palais, 4th; tel: 43.54.64.67. Open 9 A.M. to 10.30 P.M. Closed Sunday and Sunday evening, and mid-August to early-September. Visa.

Clown Bar, 114 Rue Amelot, 11th; tel: 43.55.87.35. Open 11 A.M. to 1.30 A.M. Closed Saturday lunch, Sunday and August. Visa.

Bistrot des Augustins, 39 Quai des Grands-Augustins, 6th; 43.54.41.65. Open 11 A.M. to 2 A.M. No credit cards.

In Venice, an Exhibit Marks a Fall

By Roderick Conway Morris

VENICE—"I will never forget," said a witness, "that moment: The colossus's wound opened still more horrifyingly, the side facing the Basilica crumpled, ripping itself apart, and, while the crowd gave a prolonged cry, an ominous sound of ruination and disintegration rumbled forth; the immense pinnacle of the Campanile swayed with two or three slow movements from right to left, skewing the arches supporting it and shivering them to pieces; the colossus collapsed in on itself, sinking down, down, down and swallowing itself up..."

The moment was 9:47 on the morning of July 14, 1902. On the same date, 90 years later, a diverting and enlightening exhibition "The Campanile of St. Mark's: The Fall and the Reconstruction" (through Dec. 31) opened at the Doges' Palace.

As the vast cloud of dust settled after the fall, leaving St. Mark's Square carpeted with a layer of pulverized mortar several inches thick, the 322-foot (98-meter) Campanile was found to have reduced itself to a 14,000-ton mound of rubble nearly 40 feet high. The gilded angel surmounting the pinnacle, having been seen describing a graceful parabola through the air as the tower fell, was discovered prostrate at the main doorway of St. Mark's, while the church itself and the Doges' Palace remained, to the astonishment of all, untouched. The only serious damage was to Sansovino's exquisite Loggetta at the base of the tower, and the wall of his imposing Marciana Library, which was sheared off.

There were no casualties, even though a group of guards and workmen were at the bottom of the Campanile, and some incautious customers were drinking at café tables a few yards away only minutes before. (The corpse of a cat was, however, later discovered during the removal of the debris, which took more than six months.)

The controlled and courtly fashion in which the tower chose to auto-destruct gave rise to the oft-repeated Venetian observation: "La ze sempre sà galanissimo, lu ga parà, lu ga anà: fe largo che case!" (He always was a gentleman, he spoke to us, he warned us: Stand clear, because I'm coming down!) The Campanile's shining example of good breeding was lost on certain baser individuals who, within hours, were out hawking a special late extra "with the Names of the Dead and Injured," not to mention the confusion and managed to escape, despite the victim's whacking him on the head with her parasol. Other ladies fainted, including one "in an interesting condition," and were borne away to nearby cafés and pharmacies to be revived and given restoratives.

The exact reasons for the Campanile's fall remain uncertain. Built between the 10th



Postcards depicting the 1902 collapse of the Campanile of St. Mark's.

and 12th centuries, the tower reached its familiar appearance in 1513. It was repeatedly struck by lightning over the centuries and shaken by earthquakes, which at least once set its bells jangling madly. But the main cause seems to have been incompetent—sometimes little more than cosmetic—repair work, undertaken after the lightning strikes and earth tremors, that gradually upset the balance of the structure. The final culprit, according to one contemporary source, was the custodian, who inhabited a room at the bottom of the tower and who cut out chunks of brickwork to make a chimney and a cupboard for himself.

MORE than just a symbol of civic pride, the Campanile was of immeasurable totemic significance to Venetians. In origins a lookout post and refuge from attack, it became the vantage point par excellence to spot Venice's fleets returning from the East, and the landmark that guided Venetian mariners through the narrow Lido passage into the lagoon. The whole life of the city became regulated by its bells: one, the massive Maragona (Carpenter) marked the beginning and end of the working day, tolled at midnight and was rung to celebrate victories or declare

emergencies; another summoned the Senate to its sittings; another still, rung at the moment of a criminal's execution, and so on. By nightfall on the day of the collapse, with a resolution that the current municipal government might do well to study, the local council decided to build the tower again: *dov'era, com'era* (where it was, the way it was). The Viennese architect Otto Wagner had the temerity to suggest a nice new one in the latest modern style (designed presumably by himself) and was told by the Venetian public and press at which landing to step off (some amusing parodies' visions for an alternative Campanile are pictured in the show and catalogue).

On April 25—St. Mark's day—1912, Campanile Mark II was inaugurated. While local dignitaries and the world's ambassadors sat down to a banquet of salmon, quail and roast Bohemian pheasant, more than 2,000 Venetian children were given Italian tricolor lunch bags containing "a souvenir Murano glass beaker, two filled rolls, a sweet and an orange," and, amid the pealing of bells, Venice regained its visual, aural and psychological center of gravity once more.

Roderick Conway Morris is based in Venice and writes for The New York Times and the Spectator.

Opera of the Intellect, Not Emotion

By John Rockwell
New York Times Service

SALZBURG—The rapturously received new production of Richard Strauss's "Salome" at the Salzburg Festival starred the light-voiced, hard-working Catherine Malfitano in the title role and the sumptuously sonorous Bryn Terfel as John the Baptist. Christoph von Dohnanyi conducted the Vienna Philharmonic. Rightly, much of the audience's attention was directed to them.

But the most striking moment came with Luc Bondy's staging of the entrance of the Five Jews. Meticulously differentiated as to sect, precisely dressed in various shades of Orthodoxy (even if the costumes looked more 17th-century Polish than biblical Jewish), rocking back and forth in the fumes of prayer known as dancing, they squabbled and bickered, as per Oscar Wilde's text, over the true meaning of the Messiah's coming. The one thing they all knew was that Jesus was not the Redeemer.

This put them at odds with the simple, heartfelt faith not only of John the Baptist, orating away in his cistern, but of a group of Nazarenes, as well. They looked like picture-perfect blond Aryan Superman. And this near the Alps where Hitler built his Eagle's Nest. One American critic predicted that the staging would have to be modified were the production to play, as scheduled, at the Chicago Lyric Opera in 1996.

The only confusing element in this image of a mere opera production epitomizing an entire nation is that Bondy is a Jew of Hungarian-Swiss-French descent who works a lot in Germany. Everything in his productions is there to make you think of something else. In this case, his "Salome" Jews meant, as Wilde intended, an arid rationalism opposed to the instinctive emotion of the early Christians. They are almost surely also meant to raise the very issues of Nazi responsibility that some in the audience thought they doubted.

Yet the major complaint against this "Salome" was its own reliance on intellectual over overt feeling, an almost picky aura of everything having been thought out twice over.



Catherine Malfitano in title role of Richard Strauss's "Salome" at Salzburg.

It was just this sort of directorial dominance, of productions in which concepts are thought to supersede old-fashioned operatic feeling, that Riccardo Muti used to explain his withdrawal, 10 days before the premiere, from Karl-Ernst Herrmann's Salzburg production of Mozart's "Clemenza di Tito." Down with Teutonic intellect, he thundered; up with Italianate emotion. In so saying, he won the hearts of Austrian conservatives everywhere.

As the 1992 Salzburg Festival heads toward its final day on Sunday, the talk at every intermission is of Gerard Mortier and the frenzied hostility of his many enemies. The Belgian arts administrator, whose first festival this is, relishes a good, lively fight. He sees Muti's withdrawal from a production he had known about for years as part of a plot. And the leaders of that plot reside in Vienna, the home of operatic conspiracies and implacable opposition to the modernist innovation Mortier represents.

The most immediate targets of the Viennese critics' rage—and more than in most cities, the Viennese critics speak for the Viennese musical establishment—have been Peter

Sellars's production of Olivier Messiaen's "St. Francois d'Assise" and the presence of the Los Angeles Philharmonic as the festival's orchestra in residence. The Vienna Philharmonic is used to Salzburg as its summer home turf. Visiting orchestras might give passing concerts, but to have one chattering up the landscape for a full month, and in the orchestra pit for opera, is not to be tolerated.

Especially not an American orchestra, since the Viennese rightly see this as part of a Mortier strategy to build connections between Salzburg and the United States. Not just the Los Angeles Philharmonic but the Cleveland Orchestra and, for co-productions, the Chicago Lyric Opera. And not just such big-ticket institutions, but American singers and innovative directors and designers like Sellars, Lucinda Childs, Robert Longo and Robert Wilson.

While most of the European press and even the local paper, Die Salzburger Nachrichten, praised the Sellars production and especially the playing of the Los Angeles orchestra under Esa-Pekka Salonen, the Viennese, and particularly Franz Endler in Der Kurier, brushed it off as unworthy of serious comment.

THE ARTS GUIDE

AUSTRIA

Innsbruck
Ambras Castle (tel: 592.4407). To Sept. 20: "Spanish and Austrian Art Around 1492." Includes art objects commissioned by Isabella, Ferdinand and other members of the Spanish Court, and by Emperor Maximilian I, Vienna.
Kunsthaus Wien (tel: 712.04.95). To Oct. 18: "Caricature and Satire." Five hundred years of caricature drawing from Hogarth, Caricature and Drawing to Daumer and the 20th-century caricaturists Sempe and Topor.

BRITAIN

London
Museum of London (tel: 500.36.99). To Oct. 4: "The Streets of London: Evocative Watercolors by J. E. Tidmarsh." Paintings depicting city scenes.
The British Library (tel: 323.71.11). To Sept. 27: "Oriental Gardens." Depicts different garden styles in the Near and Far East through illustrated manuscripts and illustrated books.
Royal Academy of Arts (tel: 439.7438). To Oct. 18: "Alfred Sisley, 1839-99." Paintings by one of the founders of Impressionism.
Victoria & Albert Museum (tel: 938.85.00). To Sept. 13: Items belonging to the Royal Family on display for the first time, includes coronation robes and family photographs.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Prague
Grady Palace (tel: 23.15.135). To Sept. 4: "Emil Orlik—Drawings, Paintings, Graphics."

FRANCE

Arles
Palais de Luppé (tel: 90.93.08.08). To Sept. 30: "Jasper Johns: Drawings and Engravings (1957-81)." Works by one of the great Pop artists.
Chartres
Musée des Beaux-Arts (tel: 37.35.41.39). To Oct. 5: "Inca Art in the Museums of the City of Cuzco."

Religious artifacts, ceramics and weapons.

Jouy-en-Josas
Fondation Cartier (tel: 39.56.46.46). To Oct. 4: "A Visage Decouvert." Human faces depicted in art, from the Mayas to Rodin, Giacometti and Bacon.

Paris
Musée Carnavalet (tel: 42.72.21.13). To Oct. 4: "Les Colères de la Seine." Documents covering the dramatic floodings of Paris in 1658, 1740, 1802 and 1910.
Musée d'Art Moderne (tel: 45.00.01.50). To Sept. 15: "Le Grand Heritage." Sculptures, masks and ivory objects from West Africa.

Saint-Paul-de-Vence
Fondation Maeght (tel: 93.32.82.83). To Oct. 15: "L'Art en Mouvement." A glance at artistic movements in the 20th century; more than 200 paintings, sculptures and documents included.

GERMANY

Düsseldorf
Kunstmuseum (tel: 699.22.90). To Dec. 31: "Glass." Exhibition of Jugendstil and Art Deco glasswork from the Herrlich Glassmuseum collection.

ITALY

Florence
Sottoranel di S. Lorenzo (tel: 26.86.11). To Sept. 6: "Church and City in Florence in the 16th Century." Art depicting religious life in Florence under Lorenzo il Magnifico.
Venice
Musée Correr (tel: 52.06.288). To Sept. 30: Sculptures, drawings, paintings, clay and plaster models by the Neoclassical sculptor Antonio Canova.

JAPAN

Tokyo
Tokyo Metropolitan Art Museum (tel: 38.23.69.21). To Sept. 23: "Treasures from the Palace Museum, Beijing." Commemorates the 20th anniversary of good diplomatic relations between China and Japan.

MEXICO

Monterrey
Marisa del Re Gallery (tel: 93.25.65.99). To Sept. 30: "Fernando Botero." The Colombian artist's monumental sculptures.

NETHERLANDS

Amsterdam
Van Gogh Museum (tel: 20.570.52.00). To Oct. 4: "A Great Artist Is Dead." Letters of condolence on the death of Van Gogh by such people as Toulouse-Lautrec.

SWEDEN

Stockholm
Nationalmuseum (tel: 666.42.50). To Oct. 4: "Louis Jean Despres." Topographical views, stage decorations and architecture by the French stage designer and architect, a favorite of Gustav III at the end of the 18th century.

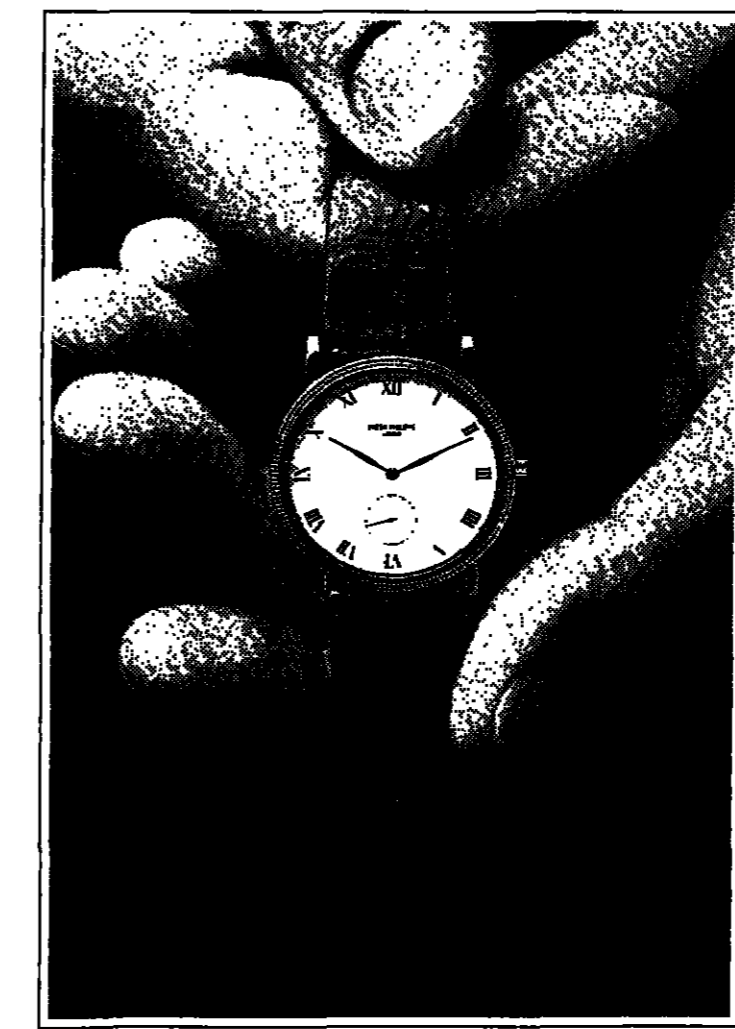
SWITZERLAND

Basel
Museum für Gegenwartskunst (tel: 27.1.08.28). To Sept. 8: "Ches Oldenburg: Early Drawings."
Musée Barbier-Mueller (tel: 312.02.70). To Oct. 15: "An from Berlin." Bronze sculptures dating back to the 15th century.
Lausanne
Fondation de l'Hermitage (tel: 20.50.01-02). To Sept. 21: "The Imaginary World of Dillion Reid." More than 200 drawings, pastels, oils and lithographs.

UNITED STATES

Atlanta
High Museum of Art (tel: 577.6940). To Sept. 25: "The Art of Archbishop J. Motley Jr." Seventy-five paintings which show Motley's development from naturalism to a highly individual style influenced by jazz.
Los Angeles
Lannan Foundation (tel: 306.1004). To Sept. 12: "Lynn Davis: Egypt." Prints of ancient Egyptian monuments by the New York photographer.
New York
Studio Museum in Harlem (tel: 876.4500). To Sept. 20: "William H. Johnson." A survey of the artist's paintings between 1923 and 1945.
Whitney Museum of American Art (tel: 570.38.33). To Oct. 25: "Homecoming: William H. Johnson and Afro-America, 1938-46." Paintings portraying the artist's long-neglected Southern black heritage.

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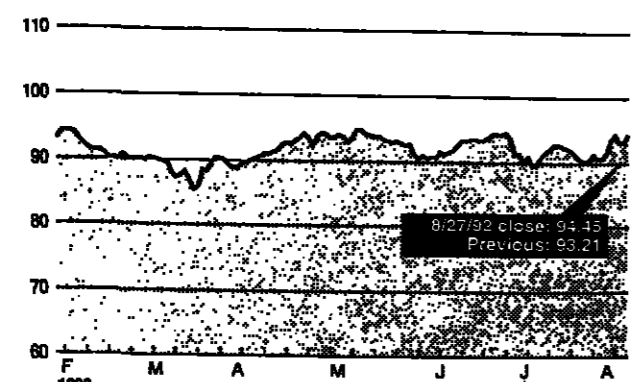
BUSINESS

FLY WITH A NEW FLEET TO SEOUL.

INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, FRIDAY, AUGUST 28, 1992

THE TRIB INDEX: 94.45

International Herald Tribune World Stock Index, composed of 230 internationally investable stocks from 20 countries, compiled by Bloomberg Business News. Jan. 1, 1992 = 100.



The index tracks U.S. dollar values of stocks in Tokyo, New York, London, and Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Hong Kong, Italy, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Singapore, Spain, Sweden and Switzerland. In the case of Tokyo, New York and London, the index is composed of the 20 top issues in terms of market capitalization. In the remaining 17 countries, the ten top stocks are tracked.

Asia/Pacific	Europe	N. America
Approx. weighting: 25%	Approx. weighting: 40%	Approx. weighting: 35%
Close: 84.30 Prev.: 81.42	Close: 98.82 Prev.: 98.27	Close: 98.17 Prev.: 96.61

Industrial Sectors	Close	Prev.	% Change
Energy	96.93	96.62	+0.32
Utilities	92.67	90.66	+2.22
Finance	83.04	80.24	+3.49
Services	100.46	100.61	-0.15

WALL STREET WATCH

Goody's Stock Does Well Despite Difficult Times

By Geraldine Fabrikant
NEW YORK — Goody's Family Clothing Inc. is a 116-store retail chain in the Southern United States that specializes in moderately priced goods, but one thing that has gotten significantly more expensive in the past year is the company's stock.

The company, one of the most successful recent initial public offerings, has done stunningly well, and, in a difficult retailing environment, managed to report record profits in its latest quarter. Susan Hirsch, who follows small growth stocks at Lehman Brothers, said that with initial offerings facing hard times in general, Goody's was an exceptional performer.

Skirting the role of a discounter, it gets major brands.

Dollar Rises Modestly As G-7 Officials Meet

By Carl Gewirtz
PARIS — Currency traders' wariness about a meeting of Group of Seven finance officials buoyed the dollar on Thursday and helped relieve the recent strain in the European Community's exchange-rate mechanism.

German Prices Edge Higher, Souring Rate Hopes

FRANKFURT — Western Germany's inflation rate rose by a month-to-month rate of 0.2 percent in August after falling for the previous four months, dampening hopes that a rapid slowdown in retail prices might soon lead to lower domestic interest rates.

'Nonbank' Loans: Japan's Economic Weak Link

By James Sterngold
The nonbanks have become one of the weakest links in Japan's shaky financial system and were a central reason why the government last week announced a huge stock-market rescue operation.

Now Political Scandal Threatens Tokyo Stocks' Recovery

By Steven Brill
As head of the Takeshita faction that is the power behind Prime Minister Kiichi Miyazawa, Mr. Kanemaru had great political and economic clout. It was he who led the drive to inflate Friday's financial rescue package to record levels.

Air Canada Bid for Continental

HOUSTON — Air Canada and a group of Texas investors offered Thursday to invest \$400 million in Continental Airlines, topping two previous bids for the carrier, which is operating under bankruptcy court protection.

DAF Has Talks on Corporate Alliance

AMSTERDAM — DAF NV, the struggling Dutch truck maker, said Thursday it was in talks that were expected to result in a strategic corporate alliance; it did not name partners.

Carter Focuses on Forests

By Michael Richardson
The stake was acquired from Brierley Investments Ltd., a New Zealand company with a wide range of investments in the Asia-Pacific region and in Europe.

Bubble Has Burst for French Vintners

By Roger Cohen
MERCUREY, France — Almost as strong as the love of the vine in Burgundy is rivalry with, and mistrust of, France's other great wine region, Bordeaux.

CURRENCY & INTEREST RATES

Cross Rates	Aug. 27	Aug. 27
Amsterdam	1.72	1.72
Berlin	1.72	1.72
London	1.72	1.72
Paris	1.72	1.72
Switzerland	1.72	1.72

Key Money Rates

United States	Close	Prev.
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3-month Treasury bill	2.75	2.75
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The property (21,000 square-meters) allows for construction of 3 additional houses with water view and privacy if so desired or a helipad.

This is a rare opportunity to buy one of Greece's most luxurious summer houses situated on the mainland Peloponnese, south of Athens because the owner has emigrated to Australia.

Please contact in Sweden:
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Price indication U.S. \$2.3 million.

MARKET DIARY

Stocks End Higher Despite Late Selling

NEW YORK — A late bout of selling sliced Wall Street's sharp gains on Thursday, but stocks still managed to finish the day in the plus column.

Overseas stock market rallies, a steady dollar and further bond

market gains provided favorable backdrops for equities, which have been struggling to recover from recent sharp losses.

The Dow Jones industrial average gained 7.38 points, to 3,254.64. Advancing issues led decliners by a 3-to-2 margin.

Volume since the big sell-off on Friday and Monday has been moderate, and traders said they detect little strong buying conviction.

On Thursday, 180 million shares changed hands on the New York Stock Exchange, up from 171.8 million on Wednesday.

"You're way oversold," said Mark Tucker, manager of U.S. equity investments at The Chase Global Private Bank. "There is a dearth of people out there, and it doesn't take a lot of buying to have a nice week."

News that state jobless claims

fell from 474,000 to 382,000 — the lowest level in three years — helped boost stocks. The Dow was as much as 26 points higher before its late retreat.

But analysts remain wary about the economic outlook. "There are still nagging concerns about growth and profits," said Marshall Acuff, a portfolio strategist at Smith Barney.

"It's hard for the market to really run and sustain the momentum. But having said that, I don't know if it has to go down very much," he said.

Among the most active, Novell continued to rise following its higher-than-expected third-quarter earnings report on Tuesday. Novell advanced 1 1/4 to 23 1/4.

GM declined 1/4 to 33 1/4 after news of a strike at its metal-fabricating plant in Lordstown, Ohio. GM's Saturn Corp., which gets parts from the facility, could lose about \$2 million a day from the strike, said David Garrity, an analyst at McDonald & Co.

Philip Morris rose 1/4 to 81 1/4 after Tyson Foods agreed to buy the Louis Kemp Sausage Co. assets of Oscar Mayer Foods Corp. Oscar Mayer is owned by Kraft General Foods Inc., a Philip Morris subsidiary.

(Reuters, Bloomberg)

DOLLAR: Currency Edges Up

(Continued from first finance page) on Wednesday. "There's a lot of pre-G-7 squaring of positions; one wants to be short going into the weekend," said Julian Symons, Citibank's chief trader in London.

In the likely event that the two-day meeting of G-7 officials that began Thursday produces no dramatic

Foreign Exchange

policy initiative, Mr. Symons said he expected the dollar to resume trending the downside next week.

The G-7 meeting, which does not include central bank officials, had been set to discuss rescheduling the debt owed to Western governments by the former Soviet Union.

This week's market turmoil was added to the agenda, but the absence of central bankers made it unlikely that any new policy initiatives would be forthcoming.

Traders dismissed Thursday's tough talk from Finance Minister Michel Sapin of France, who said the G-7 had the political will to end the dollar's decline.

"It's just talk; what else can he say?" said Christopher Potts at Banque Indosuez.

Mr. Sapin said at a news conference that the 10 percent drop in the dollar over the past month was "manifestly abnormal" and in no way justified by economic fundamentals. "It is in the interest of nobody," he said.

Mr. Sapin also reiterated the

commitment to maintain the EC's fixed exchange-rate mechanism. "There will be no realignment" within the European Monetary System, he said.

Nevertheless, while the French franc gained modestly against the mark and the pound stabilized, the lira remained very weak and the Bank of Italy was again seen selling marks to buy lire.

Other U.S. data reported Thursday — an unchanged estimate on second-quarter growth of 1.4 percent and a 2.1 percent rise in corporate profits — did not have much impact, as these numbers simply confirm what has already happened.

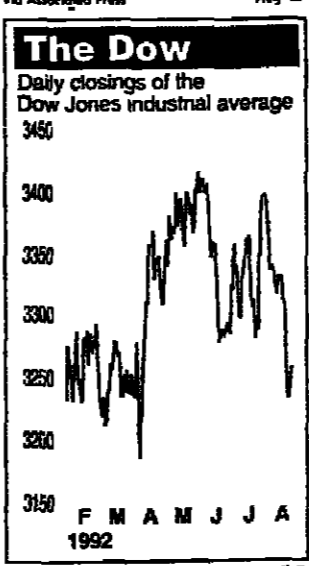
The Labor Department's report that first-time claims for unemployment insurance plunged 92,000, to 382,000, in the week ended Aug. 15, was unexpected.

It was the largest decrease on record and the first time new claims had fallen below 400,000 in 22 months. Economists were encouraged, but cautioned against reading too much into the drop. They noted that the previous week's number had been inflated by claims stemming from a temporary shutdown of General Motors Corp. factories.

At the close, the dollar was also trading at 124.77 yen, little changed from 124.85 on Wednesday.

It also finished at 1.2604 Swiss francs, up from 1.2555, and at 4.8105 French francs, up from 4.7950.

The pound slipped to \$1.9795 from \$1.9880.



NYSE Most Actives

Table listing NYSE Most Actives with columns for Volume, High, Low, Last, and Change. Includes stocks like Intel, Microsoft, and Novell.

AMEX Most Actives

Table listing AMEX Most Actives with columns for Volume, High, Low, Last, and Change. Includes stocks like Amgen and Genentech.

NYSE Diary

Table listing NYSE Diary with columns for Advancing, Declining, Unchanged, Total Issues, and Total Volume.

AMEX Diary

Table listing AMEX Diary with columns for Advancing, Declining, Unchanged, Total Issues, and Total Volume.

NASDAQ Diary

Table listing NASDAQ Diary with columns for Advancing, Declining, Unchanged, Total Issues, and Total Volume.

Table for Dow Jones Averages showing Open, High, Low, and Close for Industrial, Chemical, and Finance indices.

Table for Standard & Poor's Indices showing High, Low, Close, and Change for Industrials, Chemicals, and Finance.

Table for NYSE Indices showing High, Low, Close, and Change for Composite, Industrials, Chemicals, and Finance.

Table for NASDAQ Indices showing High, Low, Close, and Change for Composite, Industrials, Chemicals, and Finance.

Table for AMEX Stock Index showing High, Low, Close, and Change.

Table for Dow Jones Bond Averages showing Close and Change for 30 Bonds, Utilities, and Industrials.

Table for Market Sales showing NYSE 4 p.m. volume, AMEX 4 p.m. volume, and NASDAQ 4 p.m. volume.

Table for N.Y.S.E. Odd-Lot Trading showing Buy and Sell volumes for various months.

Table for S&P 100 Index Options showing Bid, Ask, and Last prices for various months.

Table for NASDAQ Diary showing Advancing, Declining, Unchanged, Total Issues, and Total Volume.

Table for EUROPEAN FUTURES showing Close, High, Low, and Change for various commodities like SUGAR, COCA, and COFFEE.

Table for Metals showing Close, High, Low, and Change for ALUMINUM, COPPER, and ZINC.

Table for Stock Indexes showing Close, High, Low, and Change for S&P 500, NYSE, and AMEX.

Table for Dividends showing Company, Dividend, and Yield.

Table for Financial showing 3-MONTH STRIPING, 6-MONTH STRIPING, and 9-MONTH STRIPING.

Table for U.S. FUTURES showing Season High, Season Low, Open, High, Low, and Close for WHEAT, SOYBEANS, and CORN.

Table for U.S. FUTURES showing Season High, Season Low, Open, High, Low, and Close for CATTLE, HOGS, and PORK.

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GM Strike to Hit Saturn Production

SPRING HILL, Tennessee (AP) — A General Motors Corp. plant that makes parts for the automaker's showcase Saturn models went on strike Thursday, and Saturn said it would have to halt production early Friday.

The strike at the Lordstown, Ohio, stamping plant was called by the United Auto Workers in a dispute over job security. Saturn does not typically stockpile parts at the Spring Hill plant, keeping only enough on hand to build scheduled cars.

Due to intense consumer demand, Saturn shipped the last of its 1992 models weeks before the model year ended July 31. Then it began shipping 1993 models to meet orders for the inexpensive, well-regarded cars.

Heinz Makes Move Into Hungary

PITTSBURGH (Bloomberg) — H.J. Heinz Co. said Thursday that it and Hilldown Holdings PLC of Britain had formed a joint venture to buy a Hungarian canning company, Kocakemati Konzervgyar RT, from the state.

Terms were not disclosed. The venture is called Magyar Foods Ltd. Kocakemati had sales of about \$35 million last year. The company sells processed foods, such as baby food, salad dressing, canned sweet corn, pickles and tomato paste in Hungary. The company exports to Russia, Ukraine, Germany, Switzerland and the United States.

Humana to Split Up, Take Charge

LOUISVILLE, Kentucky (Bloomberg) — Humana Inc. said Thursday that it expected to take fourth-quarter charges of \$175 million to \$225 million as the result of lower operating results and a plan to divide into two companies.

Humana lowered its earnings estimate to 34 to 36 cents a share, exclusive of special items, from the 58 cents earned in the year-earlier period. Humana's financial year ends Aug. 31.

Under the split-up plan, a company would be spun off to operate Humana hospitals, while Humana Health Care Plans would be operated by Humana Inc. The company said the decline in earnings reflects lower profits in both the hospital and health plan businesses.

For the Record

Durr-Filmer Medical Inc. said negotiations over its acquisition by Bergen Brunswig Corp. reached an impasse, despite Durr's approval of Bergen Brunswig's revised \$470 million takeover offer; Durr said the problem concerned certain conditions set by Bergen Brunswig. (Reuters)

Moody's Investors Service may cut the A3 senior debt ratings of Philips Electronics NV and its units, affecting \$1.5 billion of debt, on concerns about slow growth and margin pressure in consumer electronics. (Reuters)

Storage Technology Corp. and Digital Equipment Corp. announced they had formed a company to produce new technology for small computer disk drives. Digital will hold 81 percent of the company, Rocky Mountain Magnetics, based in Louisville, Colorado, which will employ about 250 StorageTek employees. (AP)

Ex-Im Grants Russia Loan

WASHINGTON — The Export-Import Bank approved on Thursday its first \$102 million in loan guarantees for Russian industry, and bank officials spoke about the possibility of pumping as much as \$2 billion into the country's lagging oil and gas production.

Meanwhile in Moscow, the ruble plunged to 205 rubles at the auction held twice a week from the most recent rate at 168.1 rubles. Russia's central bank regards the situation as an emergency and plans to intervene and set a new official rate, which would be different from the auction rate, the ITAR-Tass news agency said. Some economists predict a rate as low as 250 to 300 rubles by the end of the year.

WORLD STOCK MARKETS

Agencies: Reuters, Bloomberg, AP, UPI, etc.

Large table of World Stock Markets listing various international indices and stock prices for regions like Amsterdam, Helsinki, Hong Kong, Brussels, Johannesburg, Frankfurt, London, Zurich, Stockholm, Montreal, and Toronto.

NIKKEI: A Kanemaru Effect?

(Continued from first finance page) time to put the Nikkei's bottom around 13,000.

The resignation of Mr. Kanemaru raises the prospect that the Sagawa Kyuhin scandal will ensue other politicians. That could lead to delayed passage in the Diet, or Japanese parliament, of spending proposals in Friday's fiscal package, casting doubts over the extent to which the measures can hasten economic recovery.

Table of Nikkei and other Japanese stock market data, including indices like Nikkei 225, TOPIX, and various sector indices.

Handwritten text at the bottom of the page: "فكزا من الأصل"

Real Estate Boosts Swire Net

HONG KONG — One of Hong Kong's leading conglomerates, Swire Pacific Ltd., said Thursday that its net profit doubled, to 2.18 billion Hong Kong dollars (\$282 million), in the first half of the calendar year.

Swire said that its overall revenue jumped 26.6 percent, to 18.95 billion dollars. The group's industries division also recorded strong growth with its Coca-Cola bottling operations the main contributors.

Nomura Confirms It May Report a Loss

TOKYO — A Nomura Securities Co. confirmed on Thursday speculation that it was heading toward a loss for the first half of its financial year.

Nomura has been rocked in recent months by financial scandals, depressed share prices and, above all, sluggish trading on the Tokyo Stock Exchange.

Citicorp Denies Involvement in India Scandal

BOMBAY — The Bombay branch of Citicorp has denied any involvement with a stocks and securities broker who is the key suspect in a billion-dollar Indian financial scandal.

Taiwan Assures U.S. On Copyright Piracy

TAIPEI — The United States said Thursday it was pleased by Taiwan's determination to stop copyright piracy, as the two nations ended four days of talks on intellectual property rights.

CARTER: A Focus on Forests

(Continued from first finance page) But announced in November when International Paper became a shareholder that its holdings had been withdrawn from sale.

COMPANY RESULTS

Table with columns for Revenue and profits or losses in millions, and sub-sections for Australia, Canada, Britain, Germany, Continental, and Japan.

Table with columns for Revenue and profits or losses in millions, and sub-sections for Sweden, United States, and Norway.

Table with columns for Revenue and profits or losses in millions, and sub-sections for Reader's Digest, Deere, and Southwest.

Investor's Asia

Table showing stock indices for Hong Kong, Singapore, and Tokyo, including exchange rates and percentage changes.

Very briefly:

- Japan's industrial production in July rose 0.3 percent from June, but fell 6.2 percent from a year earlier.
Victor Co. of Japan will close 18 of its 113 domestic sales offices by March 31 to cut operating costs.

INTERNATIONAL FUNDS

Large table listing various international funds with columns for fund names, currencies, and other details.

SPORTS

All of Pro Tennis Is Joining To Back Ashe's AIDS Drive

By Robin Finn
New York Times Service

NEW YORK — The 356 players who will compete in next week's U.S. Open are taking a step toward unity unprecedented in tennis or any other sport: Inspired by Arthur Ashe's battle with AIDS, they have joined his fight against the disease.

Nine top-ranked stars, including the world's premier players, Jim Courier and Monica Seles, will appear Sunday in an exhibition to benefit Ashe's new Foundation for the Defeat of AIDS. That will begin a 15-month campaign that is expected to raise \$5 million.

"I feel like an alchemist," said Ashe, whose project has received collective cooperation from the players and executives of the men's and women's tours as well as the International Tennis Federation, the sport's governing body, and the U.S. Tennis Association, which is host to the exhibition, at Flushing Meadows-Corona Park.

"I guess I've received such a positive response from the players because I've been one of them and because tennis is a global sport and this is a nasty, worldwide malady," said Ashe, who believes he got the virus through a blood transfusion during heart surgery in 1983. He learned of his infection in 1988 but did not make it public until April 8.

Ashe said he and his wife, Jeanne, had been planning to ask for some commitment for their project from the tennis community even before the April 8 announcement. "But I didn't know the foundation would spark this kind of synergy in the tennis world," he said. "That's a rare thing."

The tennis world is known, by and large, as a selfish, privileged world crisscrossed with factions and egos. So what is happening at the Open is unthinkable: Gender and nationality and politics will take a back seat to a full-fledged effort to support Ashe.

"This exhibition is serving as a kickoff function for a 15-month program not only unprecedented because of its subject matter but because all the major organizations of tennis have come together for the same purpose," said Mark Miles, head of the ATP Tour.

"There is enormous regard for Arthur throughout tennis and his being stricken has penetrated everyone's consciousness."

The players have been unanimous in their support of Ashe. "It's not something you can even think twice about when you're asked to help out," said John McEnroe, who will square off against the No. 1-ranked Courier, Pete Sampras, and Andre Agassi in the exhibition. "The fact that the disease has happened to a tennis player certainly strikes home with all of us. I'm just glad someone finally organized the tennis community like this, and obviously it took someone like Arthur to do it, but better late than never."

Steffi Graf, Martina Navratilova, Mary Joe Fernandez and Arantxa Sanchez Vicario are expected to join Seles in shoot-outs using a tie-breaker format at the event, which will feature celebrity contestants, including the television newsman Mike Wallace and Mayor David N. Dinkins, who has pledged New York City's support for Ashe's cause.

The players' statement against AIDS won't end with the daylong exhibition, where a \$10 donation gains admittance to the stadium. All players entered in the main Open draw have been asked to wear a red ribbon centered by a

tiny yellow tennis ball, tennis's own logo of support for Ashe.

Ashe, who won the Open as an amateur in 1968, said the proceeds from his foundation will be distributed on a worldwide basis for the purpose of research, clinical trials and education.

Miles said the ATP Tour could offer voluntary screening for its players as early as next year.

"I think a person is better off knowing one way or the other," said Ashe. "But I'd say no to mandatory testing."

Connors Strains Muscle

Jimmy Connors was forced to withdraw from his second-round match in the Hamlet Cup on Wednesday night because of a strained muscle in his left thigh. The New York Times reported.

Dr. Gary Wadler, who gave Connors three hours of treatment Wednesday afternoon, said: "We have every hope that he will respond to treatment to play the U.S. Open next week."

Connors, who turns 40 on Sept. 3, said he was injured Monday evening when "I lunged for a backhand volley, and I felt something. I played on, and then I woke up stiff and sore on Tuesday. Today, I can't move, and I am in quite a bit of pain. I'm hoping for the best."



Arthur Ashe, New York Mayor David Dinkins: "I didn't know the foundation would spark this kind of synergy in the tennis world."

'Spontaneous' Fistfighting Saved by NHL Compromise

By Joe Lapointe
New York Times Service

ST. PETERSBURG BEACH, Fla. — This just in from the Gulf Coast, where National Hockey League owners have concluded their summer meetings: Helmets are now optional, and so is common sense. . . . ice harrons survive brainstorms in tropical hurricane zone . . . they came, they argued, they compromised . . . it's not the heat, it's the stupidity.

They could have done so much more. For the first time, owners seriously considered a rule that would have mandated the ejection of fistfighters. This would have eliminated the jobs of three dozen full-time goons whose only major league skill is to punch people's noses while standing on ice skates.

Almost half the teams were that dovish. But the hawks, led by the Edmonton Oilers, stopped the abolitionists' momentum by proposing a face-saving compromise that really changes little. The new rule says that only "instigators" of fights will be ejected. Last season, when instigators got only an extra two minutes, only 26 percent of the fights included an instigator penalty.

With the new rule so much harsher, will referees see even that many instigators?

Pat Quinn, the president of the Vancouver Canucks, put it best. "The spontaneous fight was the only thing I was trying to protect," he said.

In this context, spontaneous is a euphemism. Precious few fights, maybe 1 in 10, are really spontaneous exchanges that flare suddenly from hard contact. What Quinn and his faction protected is the calculated, consensual fistfight between two willing participants.

Most hockey followers can predict these "spontaneous" fights weeks in advance. If, for instance, the Rangers play Detroit, Tie Domi and Bob Probert will probably have another "spontaneous" fight.

These sideshows usually make the evening newscasts and give hockey's image a black eye. But they also sell tickets, at least according to some hockey executives, who have better sense than to say such a thing on the record.

Another privately spoken fear is that elimination of goons could change the nationalist makeup of the sport. Most fighting specialists are English-speaking Canadians trained in the junior leagues of western Canada and Ontario.

If those three dozen jobs were to open up, many would be filled by the skilled players of Europe, who are joining the league at a rapid rate, especially since the fall of the Soviet bloc.

Most NHL executives come from Canada's junior leagues. They

But the pro-choice faction offers two arguments. One is that players without helmets are treated with more respect. If your face and head are bare, the theory goes, an opponent will be less likely to hit you there with a stick because the risks to you (and the possible punishments to him) are greater.

The marketing part of the argument is that players whose faces and hairstyles are easier to see will become more familiar to fans who attend the games and watch on television. Familiarity, so that theory goes, breeds commerce.

This leads to Gil Stein, the interim league president, who replaced purge victim John Ziegler this summer, and is attempting to pursue a progressive agenda with aggressive methods.

Ziegler avoided television exposure; the Stein administration seeks it, and hopes to get a game-of-the-week contract from ESPN this season. Ziegler avoided confronting the goon issue; Stein forced a debate and almost forced a vote. Ziegler dragged his tasseled loafers feet on the possibilities of Olympic participation; Stein is pushing for it.

When owners appointed Stein, they expected a caretaker presidency. Stein, figuring his days were numbered anyway, is campaigning for the full-time job of commissioner.

His chances are probably those of a snowball in Florida, for several reasons. He's a holdover from the Ziegler administration, he's an American, he's over 60 years old and he's willing to break eggs to make an omelette, as he showed by forcing the resignation of Brian O'Neill, the executive vice president, who is a respected member of the old boys' club that runs the league.

Asked about his chances, Stein said he's been getting plenty of positive feedback, although he added that he's not naive enough to think that this assures him of anything.

Asked about other candidates, he made a weak joke about Fry Vincent, the baseball commissioner, possibly looking for work. Perhaps in a few months, they will both vie for places on the unemployment line.

49ers' Sack Star, Haley, Is Traded For Cowboy Picks

The Associated Press

SANTA CLARA, California — Linebacker Charles Haley, a spectacular defensive player who clashed with the San Francisco 49ers' management, has been traded to the Dallas Cowboys for a series of conditional draft picks.

The pass-rushing specialist had 63 sacks in his stormy six-year career with the 49ers, who drafted him from James Madison in the fourth round of the 1986 draft.

Carmen Policy, the 49ers' president, said the trade could involve

first-, second- and third-round picks for both teams in the 1993 and possibly 1994 drafts under certain conditions.

The 49ers have the option to swap draft positions with Dallas in the first and third rounds of the 1993 draft. They will get the Cowboys' No. 2 pick next year outright and would receive their third-round pick in 1994 if they decide against the first-round swap.

Earlier, Joe Montana tested his surgically repaired passing elbow for the first time in nearly a month, throwing a handful of short passes.

But with his return still questionable, the 49ers' coach, George Seifert, named Steve Young as the starting quarterback for the regular-season opener against the New York Giants and beyond.

Stanford Fails, 10-7, in Walsh's College Return

The Associated Press

ANAHEIM, California — Bill Walsh went back to school and flunked his first test.

Walsh, coaching his first college game in 14 years, saw his No. 17 Stanford squad blow a lead in the fourth quarter Wednesday night and lose to No. 7 Texas A&M 10-7 in the Pigskin Classic.

Jeff Granger, who struggled most of the game, threw a 21-yard touchdown pass to Greg Schorp with 12:10 left and Terry Venetoulis kicked a 39-yard field goal with

4:27 to go as Texas A&M won the opening game of the college football season.

Walsh, whose San Francisco 49ers won three Super Bowl titles before he became an NBC commentator for three years, had coached Stanford for two seasons in 1977-78 before joining the 49ers.

Stanford dominated the first half and led, 7-0, on LJ Lasley's five-yard touchdown run at the start of the second quarter. But the Cardinal offense was shut down in the second half by A&M's "Wrecking Crew," which led the nation in total defense last season, when the Aggies went 10-2.

"I think everyone but me did a good job," Walsh said. "Offensively, we were groping because we just couldn't get anything on track."

Books

MR. CAPONE
By Robert J. Schoenberg, 480 pages, \$33. William Morrow & Co. Inc., 1350 Avenue of the Americas, New York, New York 10019.

Reviewed by Jonathan Yardley

TO say that Al Capone was evil incarnate seems no particular exaggeration of the truth. He was a squat, cretinous creature who looked out at the world through little pig eyes, a murderous man to whom human life seems to have been utterly inconsequential and valueless. During the 1920s he became the personification of organized crime in the United States, a distinction he retains nearly a half-century after his death from — there may indeed be a just God — syphilis. "His name is still recognized everywhere," Robert J. Schoenberg writes, "without any explanation needed about who he was or what he stands for."

Since first coming to public attention during the Chicago gang wars of the Prohibition era, Capone has been both vilified and lionized. The violence he casually dispensed has been deplored and romanticized in approximately equal measures, for every newspaper editorial or work of history lambasting his deleterious influence on American life, there is a motion picture or work of fiction glamorizing the "Scarface" legend. He is — there can be no getting around it — an American icon, though

BRIDGE

By Alan Truscott

THE Grand National Team Championship which was played last July in Toronto, Canada, was won by a foursome representing Washington. The winners were Steve Robinson, Peter Boyd, Bob Lipitz and Ed Manfield, who were world champions in 1986.

In the Grand National final, Boyd held the West cards defending against an optimistic contract of five diamonds. The defense would have been very difficult after the opening lead of a spade, for if dummy played low East would have to play the seven, a surprising third hand low move, to beat the contract. After the normal play of the jack, South would be able to draw trumps and lead one of his singletons, ending play West.

Boyd averted this problem for his partner by leading the club ace and following with the heart ace. He then played a spade, and when dummy played low it no longer mattered whether East played the seven or the jack. The result was down one, and the Washington team gained 5 imps. They would have lost 6 if the game had succeeded, for the contract in the replay was a more cautious three diamonds, making 11 tricks.

NORTH
♠ 10 4 2
♥ K 9 3 2
♦ 8
♣ K J 8 5

EAST
♠ 7
♥ J 10 7 6 4
♦ 9 3
♣ 10 7 4 2

SOUTH
♠ A K 8 6
♥ Q
♦ A K 10 7 5 4 2
♣ 6

Neither side was vulnerable. The bidding:
West: 1♣ Pass
North: 1♦ Pass
East: 1♥ Pass
South: 2♦ Pass

West led the club ace.

BOOKS

what this says about America is still a moot point among those who attempt to plumb the nation's psyche.

Schoenberg is less interested in the larger meaning of Capone's life than in its minutiae. His biography — the first substantial one since John Kobler's excellent "Capone," published in 1971 — focuses not on Capone as folk hero but on Capone as underworld entrepreneur. Though he cannot avoid the messy and inconvenient matter of murder and other forms of enforcement, Schoenberg focuses on Capone as "a businessman of crime (who) had lucid, rational and discoverable reasons for his actions," a man who believed that "the proper business of crime was business."

In this interpretation of Capone's career Schoenberg stands precisely opposed to Robert Lacey, whose recent biography of Meyer Lansky made a persuasive case that organized crime is notable primarily for its disorganization. Though Schoenberg certainly shows that crime made Capone immensely powerful and rich, at least for a time, most of the evidence he presents tends to confirm Lacey's thesis: that his own "business" was not a "business" but a chaotic house of cards held together by bribery and intimidation.

The story of Capone's life is well known in outline, but Schoenberg fleshes it out with layer upon layer of detail. Though some of this eventually becomes merely repetitious and exhausting, much of it is interesting and revealing. Schoen-

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REX MORGAN



GARFIELD



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OBSERVER

Please, Just the Facts

By Russell Baker

NEW YORK—There are good reasons why everybody should heed politicians' advice not to believe the media. One of the best is that the media report what politicians say.

For instance, the other night when Ronald Reagan exhorted a 1916 bromide by the Reverend William J. H. Boetcker and passed it off as the wisdom of Abraham Lincoln, television instantly pumped the fraud into millions of American skulls.

Since The Associated Press had circulated the text of Reagan's speech before delivery, forewarned TV editors could have blacked him out on the interests of accuracy when he hit the passage or lowered the volume of the ensuing applause long enough to wipe out the audience.

A few words of editorial clarification would have done the trick. Something like: "The principle which Mr. Reagan says was eloquently stated by Abraham Lincoln was stated, in fact, not by Abraham Lincoln, but by the Rev. William J. H. Boetcker some half century after Lincoln's death."

I joke of course. It would take the courage of madness for television to black out or correct any part of a presidential campaign speech as "major" as Reagan's was said to be, on the ground that TV has a responsibility to spare the public false information.

Politicians love to howl about media bias and dishonesty, but nothing infuriates them more than media refusal to acquiesce quietly in retelling the biased fictions of politicians.

Anyhow, while such speeches are usually available to the media before delivery, there is rarely time enough to verify the accuracy of information in them.

Even The New York Times, which is fustier than most TV news operations have time to be printed excerpts of the Reagan speech with Boetcker's quotation presented as Lincoln's.

The Times did catch up with reality the next day and devoted two-thirds of a column inside the paper to setting matters right. Whether this de-confused large numbers of the millions who had been misled

by the previous night's TV extravaganza seems doubtful. In its research The Times dealt with Catherine Goldberg, a spokeswoman for Reagan who, the paper said, "maintained" that her boss researched and wrote the speech himself.

In that word—"maintained"—you can see a media guy struggling with the problem of how to report what politicians say without selling the public down the river.

I've made more of this Reagan-Lincoln-Boetcker nonsense than I intended, without even noting that Reagan, according to Goldberg, found the quotation in "The Treasurer's Treasure Chest" by Herbert V. Prochnow. Let same now be noted. Deadpan.

The subject I meant to aim at was how strikingly the present political campaign, as exemplified even in the dear old Gipper, illustrates one reason that Americans fear and distrust lawyers.

Lawyers constantly batter people who are uninformed, uninterested and otherwise preoccupied with what Senator Joseph McCarthy used to call "facts, which if true."

Bush, Clinton, Gore, Quayle, Buchanan, Cuomo, Gramm—like lawyers trying to bludgeon a jury, all have dipped us in swamps of facts, buried us under avalanches of facts, blinded us with clouds of facts, all of which may not be facts at all, but only "facts, which if true."

In courtrooms there are some vague limits on how detached fact may be from reality. Still the lawyer's delight in the bombardment and counter-bombardment by fact makes us fear them as tricky devils.

The present campaign seems to have lifted decent constraints on lawyers, blinding us with clouds of facts that suit the political need of the moment. They are spewing out of politicians in such a gush that the poor fact-battered voter hasn't time to doubt more than a few hundred per day.

Surely they're just making them up, aren't they, as Boetcker just made up a Lincoln that got made-up by the Gipper.

As when fence lawyers come at you with their confounding "facts, which if true," you end up feeling like the victim of a fact-mugging.

New York Times Service

A Fond Look at 'New York in the '50s'

By Richard F. Shepard

NEW YORK—For Dan Wakefield, the great days, the days to look back on wistfully as the best of times, are the 1950s.

Now, there are a lot of different 1950s: the Eisenhower years, the years of Milton Berle's Tuesday night television show, the years of Elvis, the years of Hula-Hoops and the years of Levittowns. None of these is the Wakefield 1950s.

Dan Wakefield's 1950s, recalled in his new book "New York in the '50s" (Houghton Mifflin/Seymour Lawrence) are a slice of time in Greenwich Village. At the age of 60, the writer of the best-selling novel "Going All the Way" and "Staring Over" as well as "Island in the City: The World of Spanish Harlem," the pioneering survey of Puerto Rican settlement in New York, has become a Boswell of the heady days when art and literature had a singular flowering in the Village.

"The '50s were the last era of the word as the honored art, still powerful then in a way that movies and television are now," he said during a recent walk through the Village in search of his beloved decade. The stroll was taken not only to put an interviewer in the picture of what Wakefield was recalling in "New York in the '50s" but also to let Wakefield refresh himself, to steep himself in the look and the smell and the sound of the Village for a novel he is working on. And finally, just to look back and savor a past that is constantly present within him.

"I've always felt that this was one of the richest scenes or periods," he said. "The '50s were different from the '30s and the '40s. There was a real upsurge after World War II, never a time when we had such a flowering of literature, theater, music and painting. All at once that great flowering of creativity. Politically, it didn't yet have the effect, but Dorothy Day and C. Wright Mills were prophets."

His interest in the '50s, he said, is a fixation that makes sense to any observer of American culture. The '50s weren't the turbulent '60s, for sure, but Wakefield's thesis is that they were also years when young people burdened with creativity and expression found voluminous liberation in New York and were, perhaps, the pioneers who led to the uproarious '60s. In the book, he recalls rubbing shoulders that were attached to names that have since been inscribed in the pantheon of American arts and letters.

Some of them he knew in the close way of intimate, eternal friendship; others he knew well enough to have a drink with and in those days, one drink led to another; a glass's content bred familiarity.



Dan Wakefield, recalling heady days of art and literature in Greenwich Village.

Among this literary smorgasbord were Jack Kerouac, oracle of the "beat generation"; Allen Ginsberg, the poet who broke out of old poetic molds; Norman Mailer, then moving on from "The Naked and the Fear"; Joan Didion, who went on to write novels and essays; Dorothy Day, the saintly, impoverished guiding light of the social-justice Catholic Worker; Michael Harrington, the radical thinker whose writings inspired President Lyndon B. Johnson's anti-poverty program; C. Wright Mills, the rebel sociologist; and James Baldwin, whose journey from Harlem to the Village was as unthinkable in the '50s as a manned space shot to the moon.

These were the names that helped keep the intellectual fires burning through that long decade so often dismissed as staid. And let us not forget—indeed, we can't let us forget—the pages—Dylan Thomas, the Welsh poet who drank himself to death.

This particular day's journey into the past began at the arch in Washington Square, where Wakefield looked at the inscription high up on its southern side: "Let us raise a standard to which we

and the honest can repair. The event is in the hands of God."

Those were the words of George Washington, and they struck a chord in this pilgrim to the past. "I always felt he was talking about the Village," Wakefield said.

Young Dan Wakefield, an Indianapolis boy then in his early 20s, came to New York, to attend Columbia University, without realizing he was following in some of the oldest cultural footsteps in the country, the ones that for 200 years led bright young men and women to New York, some to find themselves, some to lose themselves.

Some thought they were leaving back there for good, renouncing mom's apple pie for the sophistication of the big city. They settled, many of them, in Greenwich Village, where they formed a group almost as distinct as the Italians around them.

One of Wakefield's first Village quarters was at 110th Street and Bleecker, and Wakefield recalled how he and his roommate sponsored parties on the roof, a "bar beach" without railing or other safeguard against a plunge into the street.

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